DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 316 700 CE 054 343

AUTHOR	Raimond, Jean-Marie
TITLE	Vocational Training of Young Migrants in France.
INSTITUTION	European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, Berlin (West Germany).
REPORT NO	ISBN-92-825-6118-6
PUB DATE	86
NOTE	122p.; For related documents, see CE 054 340-345. Statistical clippings on page 18 will not reproduce clearly.
AVAILABLE FROM	UNIPUB, 4661-F Assembly Drive, Lanham, MD 20706-4391 (Catalogue No. HX-45-85-034-EN-C, $4.00).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Acculturation; Education Work Relationship; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Immigrants; Job Training; *Migrant Children; Migrant Education; Migrant Employment; *Migrant Problems; *Migrant Youth; *Social Integration; Vocational Education
IDENTIFIERS	*France

ABSTRACT

This document reviews the literature on France's approximately 1.5 million young migrants. The introduction states that it is the second generation of migrants that were studied. In the second chapter, the statistical sources analyzed are explained and general descriptive statistics about foreigners in France are reported, including their numbers, where they come from, their predominant nationalities, where in France they live, and their economic role. Chapter 3 analyzes particular problems of the young migrants, including their education, transition to work after leaving school, vocational training, patterns of employment and unemployment, and cultural integration. Chapter 4 recapitulates the studies' findings and makes several proposals. Among them are that (1) a system of information and training for parents be developed to reduce the gap between them, their children, and institutions; (2) cultural institutions--even "cultural cafes"--be used to help orient young people where they are rather than where adults would like them to be; (3) vocational preparation should become an instrument specifically designed to facilitate integration; (4) closer links be forged between the training systems and employment policy; and (5) wider application of alternative training, modular training structures, and recognition of skills already acquired. The document concludes with a list of reverse acronyms and 62 references, most of which are in French. (CML)

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CEDEFOP Document

Vocational training of young migrants in France

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

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Vocational training of young migrants in France

This study was drawn up by Jean-Marie Raimond

First edition, Berlin 1986

Published by:

CEDEFOP — European Centre for the Development of
Vocational Training,
Bundesallee 22, **D-1000 Berlin 15**
Tel. (0 30) 88 41 20 Telex 184 163 eucen d

The Centre was established by Regulation (EEC) No 337/75
of the Council of the European Communities

This publication is also available in

DE ISBN 92-825-6117-8
FR ISBN 92-825-6119-4
IT ISBN 92-825-6120-8

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1986

ISBN 92-825-6118-6

Catalogue number: HX-45-85-034-EN-C

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Printed in the FR of Germany

CEDEFOP

This study
was drawn up by Jean-Marie Raimond
on behalf of CEDEFOP - European Centre for the Development of
Vocational Training, Berlin 1985

Project coordinator : Duccio Guerra

This is the second study to be undertaken as part of a project on
"THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF YOUNG MIGRANTS IN BELGIUM, FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, DENMARK AND LUXEMBOURG".
It includes the latest and most relevant documentation and statistical data on this subject.

This study which looks at the overall situation of the immigrant population, and young immigrants in particular, analyses such problem areas as the transition from school to working life and the inadequacies of initial training with relation to the vocational training, employment and unemployment situation.

Published by :

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training,
Bundesallee 22, **D-1000 Berlin 15**, tel. : (030)884 12-0

The Centre was established by Regulation (EEC) N° 337/75 of the Council of the European Communities.

All the monographies are available in the following languages :
FRANCE (DE, EN, FR, IT)
BELGIUM (DE, EN, FR, IT)
LUXEMBOURG (DE, EN, FR, IT)
UNITED KINGDOM (DE, EN, FR, IT)
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PREFACE

Young people of foreign origin, second generation youngsters, young immigrants: the diversity of terms that can be used is indicative of the problems of defining such complex and varied realities which are so dependent on social, historical, environmental, emotional and conjunctural factors that they cannot be explained by macrosocial analysis. We should first state our conviction that there is no such thing as "young immigrants", or at least not in the sense of a clearly definable, homogeneous grouping, a factor which imposes inevitable limits on a study which, like ours, aims at understanding an extremely complex and diversified situation.

These youngsters constitute a fairly consistent notional population within the European Community. Little is known about them: their position in the environment of school, training and employment, their aspirations and their problems. There are few statistics in any country and what information is available is either at such an aggregate level as to be of little value or else so localized that it cannot be used as a basis for generalizations. Yet knowledge of the problem is a prerequisite for any attempt to seek a solution.

In the light of these considerations, CEDEFOP embarked on a joint primary research project with the Berlin Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (BIBB) on the situation of young migrants in the Federal Republic of Germany. For anyone wishing to gain a greater insight into the situation, as far as we are aware, this is still the only material available for the Federal Republic as a whole. The research findings encouraged CEDEFOP to undertake secondary investigations to determine how much was known about the problem in other host countries within the Community: Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom. This report forms part of a series of monographs which are the product of this secondary research.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Even though the national monographs are too specific for any comparisons or aggregation, it is surprising to find that they do all point to very similar, if not identical, problem areas.

- Problems relating to the education of children of migrant workers;

- Problems concerning access to vocational training and the links between
  - success at school
  - success in vocational training
  - success in employment
  - access to the labour market.

An analysis of the monographs confirms the existence of close links between the various problem zones, converging to a central point which could be termed the "level of cultural, social and vocational integration". From a scientific point of view, it would be wrong to attempt a comparison of these problem zones on the basis of the monographs, as these are solely the product of an intelligent review of existing documents and other data (identified, collected and collated, from many different sources and with some considerable effort).

Accordingly, we consider it expedient to give the readers of these monographs a number of "general impressions" we have obtained from a review of all the monographs.

THE FAMILY AND THE SCHOOL

Family composition (e.g. a mixed marriage between a national and a non-national) and, more important, its socio-cultural category play a significant part in a young person's school career and academic success there. At least until the end of a youngster's education and training, the family remains not only a "sanctuary" but also the dominant cultural and behavioural influence. The dominant but not the only influence, for the youngster will, from his early socialization in the school environment, be constantly trying to reconcile the different cultural models offered by the family and the host society. In this process of reconciliation there is an obvious risk of loss of cultural identity.

There is, nevertheless, a whole series of interacting and mutually reinforcing determinants that has a significant effect on the educational life chances of young children:

1. Knowledge of the host language(s): all the national monographs show that lack of linguistic competence in the language(s) of the host country has a determining influence on academic performance. In Luxembourg, for example, proficiency in three languages is necessary: Luxembourgish as the vernacular, German in primary school, switching to French in secondary school.
"A lack of knowledge of French and language learning difficulties are obviously an initial handicap which has repercussions at every level of educational and social integration". (3)

In Denmark, "the term foreign language national is used more commonly than immigrant" and "this language barrier may continue even after immigrants have become Danish citizens..." (2)

"The ability of foreigners to express themselves in writing in the German language is far below standard". (5)

2. Time of arrival in the host country: the monographs agree that "late arrivals" usually encounter problems with assimilation, resulting in academic failure in their first year at school and having to stay down in the same year once or even more.

3. Pre-school attendance: the number of foreign two- to three-year-olds attending pre-school units is disproportionately low. When the children do take part, these activities have a beneficial effect on their future schooling. In Denmark (1980),

for example, only 39% of foreign children in the 2-3 age group attended play school. The percentage is slightly higher in Germany and France.

There is, however, a general feeling that experimental schemes promoted and guided by the European Commission in pursuance of the Council directive on the schooling of migrant workers' children (+) might help to reduce academic failure by creating an awareness that there may be a multicultural society. The Danish report is quite explicit on this point.

Drop-out and failure rates in primary education differ in the various contexts studied, but there is a general consensus that after primary education, there is a substantial decline in the number of children of foreign extraction attending general, technical and vocational education. The more advanced the level of education, the fewer the immigrants. Even allowing for the small number of young nationals who go on to further education, immigrant pupils are markedly under-represented.

Despite the fact that this analysis is based on a number of different contexts and situations, in this sphere it points to a series of common factors:
- a lack of motivation for staying on in education, due to academic failure or low achievement;
- family pressure on children to leave school early and find a job;
- career guidance, often based on aptitude tests which do not allow for differences in the individuals being tested, with the result that youngsters are too readily directed towards "practical activities" or the less "demanding" subject options at school;
- spatial segregation, leading (as all the monographs show) to the creation of a "ghetto", which also has a negative effect on the learning of the host language and, at a more general level, on integration into society and the more specific environment of school.

(+) Directive: Official Journal No. L 30, 6.8.1977

SCHOOL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

By the time these young people reach the minimum school leaving age, there are far fewer opportunities open to them. In Germany, the certificate that marks the end of compulsory education is a requirement for admission to vocational education under the dual system, and even when there is no such formal impediment, access to vocational education is conditional on success at school. The future prospects of foreign youngsters both in training and on the job market are, in fact, dependent on their performance at school, one of the reasons why the Community has made this basic problem area a priority.

"The majority of research findings confirm that the key factor in the integration of young people of foreign origin is their schooling" (3).

"Immigrant youngsters remain in education until the age of 15 because it is compulsory, but then they are excluded from all branches of education" (4).

"The reason why a pupil who has to repeat years at school is bound to be an "under-user" of the educational facilities available is that academic failure has a strong influence on guidance given by the family..." (1).

So failure leads to failure. Most of these young people come onto the labour market at an early age and try, not without difficulty, to find work in areas which demand little or no skill. By contrast, it is mainly youngsters who have had a "normal" school career who move on to vocational education within the conventional education system (technical and vocational schools) or an officially recognized training system.

The obstacle race continues, however. Here too, the same old discriminating factors influence selection and, even by comparison with nationals of the same social stratum, the number of youngsters of foreign origin is disproportionately low.

One determining factor is knowledge of the host language: "When you realize that almost all teaching, particularly in technical education, is done through the medium of German, you can readily imagine the difficulties confronting children of foreign workers, even if the children were born in Luxembourg. They have to be proficient in four languages" (4).

One factor which prevents the youngsters from entering vocational training is "primarily, the need to earn immediately" (5). The major obstacle in all the context investigated, however, is the failure of vocational training systems to cater for the specific needs of groups of foreign youngsters, including those who, as in the United Kingdom, are not so much foreign as from "ethnic minorities" (6).

It is a known fact that the dominant culture of any country tends to undermine, if not completely suppress, minority cultures. This applies not only to immigrants but also to peasant and working class cultures. Modern technological and occupational culture and the systems which support it are created by and for the indigenous population.

The inability or unwillingness to adapt educational systems to the specific needs of groups who make demands of the systems and look for a response leads to the last resort of compensatory measures, or perhaps one should call them precautions. Measures of this kind are often taken for "underprivileged groups" in general rather than specifically for young immigrants. In Denmark, for example:

"Danish legislation provides support for handicapped youngsters within the framework of vocational training. And language difficulties count as a handicap ..." (2).

Large numbers of these young people attend "supplementary classes" in Luxembourg, "youth schools" in Denmark, "pre-vocational courses" or "local missions" in France and "social advancement" courses in Belgium. It is also not unusual for parallel systems of education to be set up to cater for the needs of foreign youngsters by their own national authorities and, being an alternative to "non-training", to an extent they attract drop-outs from the conventional educational and training systems in the host countries.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

The transition from training to employment might be more accurately expressed as a transition from "non-training" to shrinking labour markets. The introduction of new technology into industry is steadily reducing the number of repetitive, low-skill, manual jobs formerly done by "first generation" immigrants brought in to contribute to the economic growth of industrialized countries.

An additional factor is that immigrant labour is concentrated in declining or threatened areas of employment like the steel and building industries.

The pressure exerted on youngsters by family, school and careers advisers to find employment at an early age has already been mentioned. When they do find work, though, it is usually in unskilled jobs, so that their lack of training is parallelled and aggravated by a lack of useful work experience.

"...immigrants will never achieve cultural or social assimilation so long as they are segregated on the fringes of the working world " (1).

There seems to be no great discrepancy between the numbers of young nationals and non-nationals without jobs. In France, in fact, unemployment trends appear to be developing along exactly the same lines. It is in the quality of employment rather than quantity that there seems to be an appreciable gap.

Foreign young people tend predominantly to be employed in manual or unskilled jobs. One wonders whether the present generation is not merely reproducing the pattern of its predecessors, with the added problem of an overall decline in the number of jobs available.

AREAS OF INVESTMENT

This brief examination of some of the problem areas which affect the future of young people of foreign origin inevitably touches only on the surface; no original discoveries can be claimed and no new proposals can be made. Nevertheless, we feel that attention might well be drawn to certain areas in which it would be worth investing research and positive action:

1. Too little is known about these young people's situations and problems and the statistical information available is non-existent, fragmentary or contradictory. There is an evident need for a major investment in research on the wide variety of situations encountered in this particular group of young people and the individual connotations.

2. Recognition of the undoubted fact that it is at school that the future of the youngsters in society and the working world is determined should point to a clearer definition of how to mobilize immigrant leaders, employers, unions, the authorities and families to ensure that they give maximum support for schemes set up by the European Commission in pursuance of the directive on "the schooling of the children of migrant workers".

3. The ability of vocational training systems to adjust to the specific needs of foreign youngsters and, more generally, underprivileged youth as a whole is a far-reaching social challenge. We need to understand where and how adjustments can be made without having to resort to remedial measures that are not very effective and that segregate the recipients even more.

4. Teaching of the host country's language or languages is still a challenge in terms of teaching methods and aids, the imparting of greater motivation and a commitment in the community at large.

5. The lack of information and the shortcomings of educational and vocational guidance point to the need for a greater understanding and a clearer definition of methods of stimulating interaction and integration amongst teachers, counsellors, families and the community.

6. Finally, there is a clear need for positive measures to make it easier for foreign youngsters to gain access to vocational training, and to support while they are training.

Duccio Guerra
CEDEFOP

NOTES

The quotations in this article have been taken from reports on the training situation of youngsters of foreign origin in

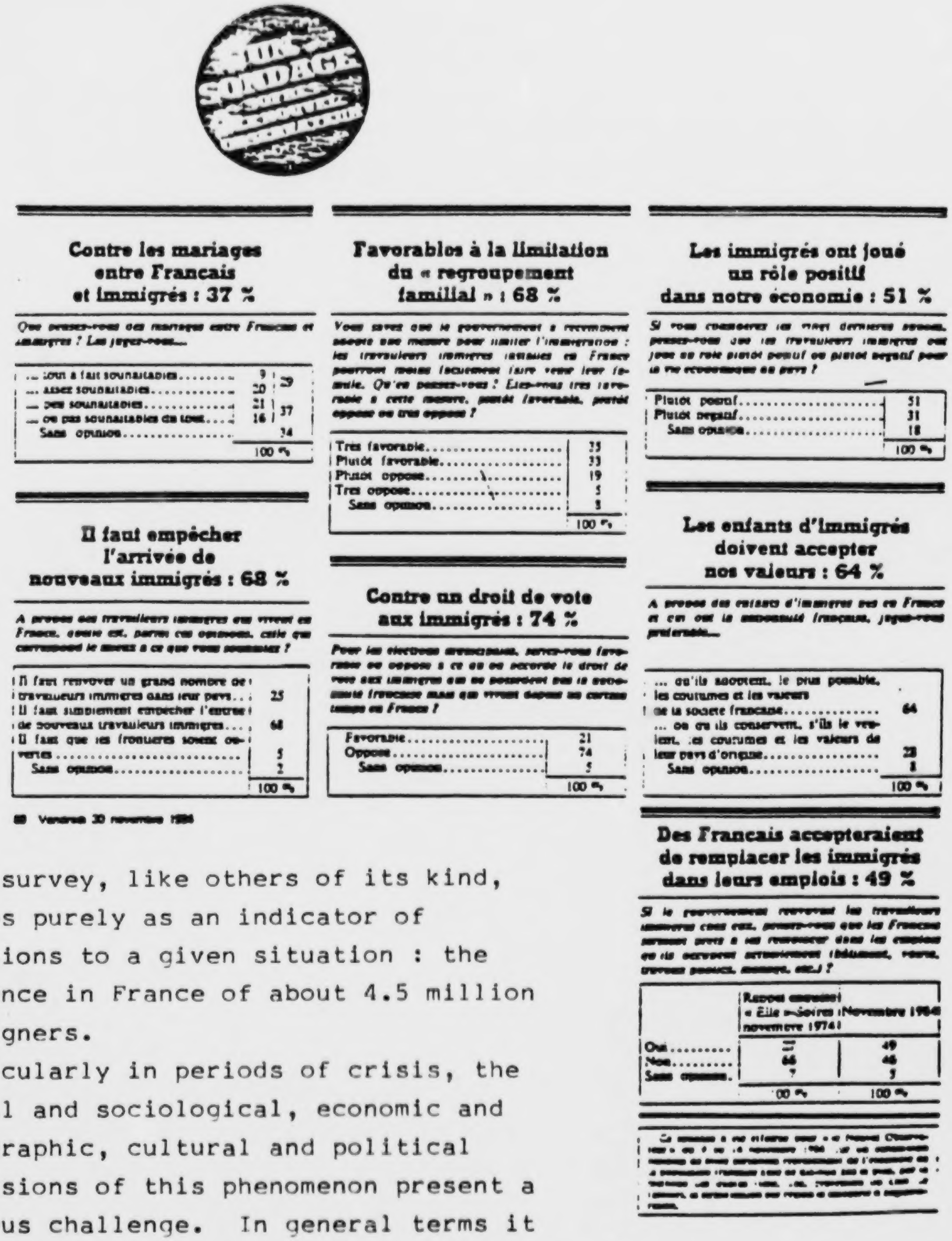
1. Belgium[+]
2. Denmark[+]
3. France[+]
4. Luxembourg[+]
5. Federal Republic of Germany[++]
6. United Kingdom[+]

[+] monographs will soon be available in French, English and German (also summary reports in Danish, Italian and Dutch)

[++] research report published in French, English and German

1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE PROBLEM



Contre les mariages entre Francais et immigrés : 37 %

... tout à fait souhaitables	9	29
... assez souhaitables	20	
... pas souhaitables	21	37
... ou pas souhaitables du tout	16	
Sans opinion		34
		100 %

Il faut empêcher l'arrivée de nouveaux immigrés : 68 %

Il faut renvoyer un grand nombre de travailleurs immigrés dans leur pays	25
Il faut simplement empêcher l'entrée de nouveaux travailleurs immigrés	68
Il faut que les frontières soient ouvertes	5
Sans opinion	2
	100 %

88 Vendredi 30 novembre 1984

Favorables à la limitation du « regroupement familial » : 68 %

Très favorable	35
Plutôt favorable	33
Plutôt opposé	19
Très opposé	5
Sans opinion	8
	100 %

Contre un droit de vote aux immigrés : 74 %

Favorable	21
Opposé	74
Sans opinion	5
	100 %

Les immigrés ont joué un rôle positif dans notre économie : 51 %

Plutôt positif	51
Plutôt négatif	31
Sans opinion	18
	100 %

Les enfants d'immigrés doivent accepter nos valeurs : 64 %

... qu'ils adoptent, le plus possible, les coutumes et les valeurs de la société française	64
... ou qu'ils conservent, s'ils le veulent, les coutumes et les valeurs de leur pays d'origine	28
Sans opinion	8
	100 %

Des Francais accepteraient de remplacer les immigrés dans leurs emplois : 49 %

	Rappel enquête « Elle »-Sofres novembre 1974	Novembre 1984
Oui	27	49
Non	66	46
Sans opinion	7	5
	100 %	100 %

This survey, like others of its kind, serves purely as an indicator of reactions to a given situation : the presence in France of about 4.5 million foreigners.

Particularly in periods of crisis, the social and sociological, economic and demographic, cultural and political dimensions of this phenomenon present a serious challenge. In general terms it stimulates movements of generosity and

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justice, but also the outbreak of rejection and racism both from right and from left. Nevertheless, in general, attitudes towards foreigners are often to be seen in a more negative light than the image normally projected by France.

The history of migrants is long and in some regions covers many generations. Without going into an historical account we must face the fact that they are there, individual hostages of the economic and social adventure of their country of origin and of our country. Then there are their children, who as sons and daughters of migrants are hostages twice over. "Born in France, they have grown up like wild plants which are not seen until the day they invade the garden when one sets about uprooting them". (cf.53)

In this study, it is the "second generation of migrants" which is particularly at issue. This is a bad term and one must avoid falling into the trap of creating a stereotype image. The problem takes multifarious forms. Although they may have many common and considerable difficulties to overcome, they also have their differences. There are worlds between the North Africans and the Portuguese, a young Turkish girl and an Italian girl. Their common poverty is not experienced in an identical manner.

Given the structure of life in France, the presence of those we prefer to call "young people of foreign origin" may be considered a threat or a reward. It is definitely a challenge - an economic and social challenge certainly, but more profoundly a cultural challenge. The real dimension of the problem is that of their "integration". (cf. 18)

1.2. LINE OF ACTION

With the aid of existing documentation and with reference to a "catalogue of significant topics" this report, initiated by CEDEFOP, aims at verifying the existence of qualitative and quantitative factors which enable an initial appreciation of the situation to be obtained. This "overview" is to be submitted to the Commission of the EC and to those national bodies concerned with this issue.

Accordingly, this is a documentary study based on existing facts and covering those problem zones identified in a study carried out by CEDEFOP in Germany with the support of BIBB (cf.30). Whilst accepting the inherent constraints and limitations, this report follows a set structure in order to achieve the desired coherence with other national reports.

There is certainly no lack of literature dealing with the problems of imigration (several hundred university reports being produced since 1968 alone (cf.2)). However, whilst many of them provide extremely interesting information, they are often very specialized or selective and do not allow any general or national conclusions to be drawn. There remains as a basis the research conducted by SEDES (cf.57). With regard to statistics, the lack of reliable data and the difficulty of making comparisons are a considerable handicap when it comes to obtaining a satisfactory overall picture. Furthermore, the information obtained in the course of this work cannot always be measured or reduced to percentages.

An initial approach to this subject was made in December 1981. With the addition of more recent information (in particular the extremely exhaustive report of MARANGE-LEBON, cf.18) and the results of the 1982 survey, it has served as a basis for more up-to-date and more precise considerations of the issues in question.

2 - GENERAL QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

2.1. STATISTICAL SOURCES

All the specialists are agreed that from case to case the concept of a foreign population relates to different groupings and that on the other hand, the yardstick applied by each specialist is at the very least deficient. Accordingly, the brief yet necessary critical review which follows is understandable.

2.1.1. CRITICAL REVIEW

There are four principal sources for all the statistics issued by the various ministries or national establishments. The two most important are :

- the census carried out every seven years by the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies, INSEE (Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques), this report drawing on the figures of the 1982 survey;
- the annual statistics issued by the Ministry of the Interior.

The two others are :

- the annual survey on employment conducted by INSEE;
- the survey on foreign labour which is conducted at irregular intervals covering a number of years, by the Ministry or the State Secretariat responsible for affairs relating to employment and work.

The first two enable a general review to be made of the existing foreign population, whilst the other two are concerned more with the involvement of this group in active employment.

The seven-year census provides a picture of the resident population of France established on the basis of individual form sheets completed within a period of 5 to 6 weeks. An analysis is made on the basis of a 20% sample. The element of chance in the collection, the number of non-registered foreigners, the gaps arising from the method of analysis constitute a source of error. According to the experts, there is a probability that the figures are underestimated.

The statistics of the Ministry of the Interior are based on the official figures for the registered population. Although this is an annual procedure, it is based on documents with different periods of validity (3 months, 5 years, 10 years). It does not take into account the births occurring in the interim period nor does it give consideration to the numbers of those leaving the country who do not always return their residence permit. Neither do the statistics cover refugees, stateless persons and illegal residents. Some figures are overestimated, others underestimated : it is agreed that in the sum total the results represent an overestimate.

The two other sources must also be treated with some reserve either for reason of the samples taken (employment survey of INSEE) or the sectors they exclude (surveys conducted by the Ministry of Labour).

2.1.2. POSSIBLE MARGINS FOR ERROR, AND CONCLUSIONS

As we shall see later, both for statistical reasons and as the result of the method of collection and treatment of data, there is a serious margin for error when conducting a general analysis, taken to be more than 20%. These variations become all the more evident when one descends for example to the level of the "départements". A number of writers have studied this area very closely and have concluded that there is nevertheless a certain homogeneity between the two sets of statistics and a perfect coherence within each series of figures.

A comparison shows where the most significant differences lie. At national level the figures relating to European nationals (the number of Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese in the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior) are a particular source of error. With regard to sex and age groupings, there appear to be more men above 16 years of age in the figures of the Ministry of the Interior. This is most likely due to the fact that the figures are based on the number of valied residence permits, the holders of which may no longer be resident (returned home or deceased) or who are no longer foreigners (having been naturalized). There is thus a difference between legal and physical presence. Nevertheless, the majority of experts generally make use of the figures of INSEE as a basis for reference, whilst making any adjustments they may consider appropriate.

The "foreign factor" thus differs according to the statistics one refers to. Apart from the figures, the reality confronting those who are interested in this field is, without doubt, much more varied. Nevertheless, despite the inexactitudes they may embody, they must necessarily be taken into consideration. Apart from the physical presence, there is a sociological reality.

2.2. GENERAL STATISTICS

Having identified the inaccuracies and their causes, it is possible to provide a series of general comparative statistics and to reply to a number of key questions.

2.2.1. HOW MANY FOREIGNERS ARE THERE ?

FOREIGN POPULATION IN FRANCE				
Year	Census	Ministry of the Interior	Difference (+)	in %
1968	2 621 088	2 979 967	358 879	+ 13.7
1975	3 442 415	4 196 134	753 719	+ 21.9
1982	3 680 100 (1)	4 459 068 (2)	778 968	+ 21.17

(1) on 4.3.1982 (2) on 31.12.1982

The relationship between foreign population and total population and its progression are quoted by INSEE as follows :

1982 : 4.7%	1968 : 5.3%	1975 : 6.5%	1982 : 6.8%

The foreign population in France increased considerably between 1968 and 1975 (+ 31%) but whilst continuing to grow (+ 7% between 1975 and 1982) it was seen to drop sharply as from 1973 as a consequence of the drop in employment in industry and the construction sector and as a consequence of government measures introduced as from 1973. Accordingly, over a period of 10 years, as a percentage of the total population, it represents a growth rate of 2%.

2.2.2. WHERE DO THE FOREIGNERS COME FROM ?

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN IN % (SOURCE INSEE)				
	1962	1968	1975	1982
EUROPE	72.2	71.6	60.7	47.6
AFRICA	19.7	24.8	34.6	42.8
ASIA (+USSR)	2.9	2.4	3.4	8.2
AMERICA	4.1	1.1	1.2	1.4
OTHER COUNTRIES	1.1	0.1	0.1	-
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

A comparison of the census figures shows how the migrant structure has changed over 20 years.

Although the Europeans still represent a majority, they no longer represent a ratio of even 1 to 2 whilst the ratio used to be 3 out of 4.

The number of Africans on the other hand has more than doubled.

The percentage of Asians is now by no means inconsiderable.

The progressive "depletion" of the Europeans within a growing foreign population (2.2 million in 1962 to 3.7 in 1982) is basically a result of the disappearance of half the Italian community (630 000 to 330 000 over a quarter of the Spaniards (440 000 to 320 000) and the stabilization of the number of Portuguese.

At the same time, the number of African nationals has almost quadrupled (Algerians x 2, Tunisians x 7, Moroccans x 13).

Two other communities are growing : the Turks and South East Asians (the latter increasing by 180 000 between 1975 and 1982).

2.2.3. WHICH ARE THE PREDOMINANT NATIONALITIES ?

SOURCE	INSEE Census 1982			SOURCE: Ministry of the Interior 1982		
COUNTRY	Number	Ranking	%	Number	Ranking	%
ALGERIA	795 920	1	21.6	805 355	2	18
PORTUGAL	764 860	2	20.8	866 595	1	19.5
MOROCCO	431 120	3	11.7	492 669	3	11
ITALY	333 740	4	9	441 042	4	9.9
SPAIN	321 440	5	8.7	395 364	5	8.9
TUNISIA	189 400	6	5.1	212 902	6	4.8
TURKEY	123 540	7	3.4	135 049	7	3
POLAND	64 820	8	1.8	63 769	9	1.4
YUGOSLAVIA	64 420	9	1.7	68 316	8	1.5
TOTAL (partial) (for these 9 countries)	3 089 260	-	83.8	3 481 061	-	78

The percentages have been calculated :

a) on the basis of the total figures, i.e. 3 680 100 (INSEE) and 4 459 068 (Min. of Int.);

b) rounded off to the nearest tenth.

It can be seen that the two sources give a different rating, but also that as compared with the total foreign population in 1985 they have declined in significance : 83.8% in 1982 as compared with 88% of the total foreign population in 1975.

2.2.4. WHAT ARE THE PERCENTAGES BY SEX ?

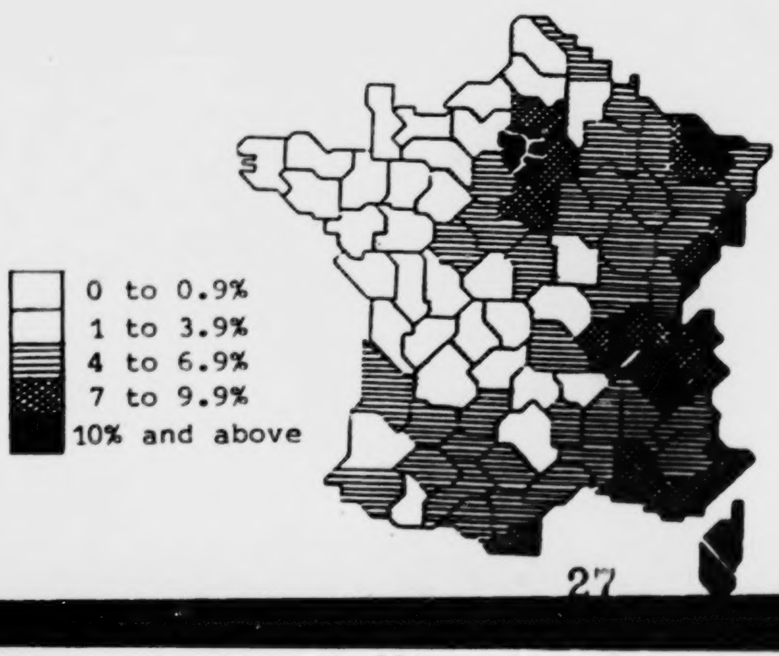
Sex	Number	% (1)	% (2)
M	2 104 360	57.2	7.94
F	1 575 740	42.8	5.67
TOTAL	3 680 100	1000	6.78

Source INSEE
(1) = percentage of the total foreign population
(2) = percentage of the total population by sex

2.2.5. WHERE DO THEY LIVE IN FRANCE ?

The geographical distribution of the foreign population is linked with the relationship between economic growth which induced the parents to settle, and the problems of employment which could affect the father (and mother) and also have an influence on the orientation of the children and all the ensuing problems. In 1982, two out of three foreigners lived in an urban community with a population of more than 100 000. The following map shows the regions in which the foreign population has settled.

Distribution of foreign population in 1982



The principal handicaps.

A number of negative factors may combine, for example education, or lack of education, prior to arrival in France. It should be mentioned that the national immigration office has so far no information on the education received in the country of origin by those young people born abroad. At their meeting of 31 August 1983, the Council of Ministers decided to extend the statistical resources in order to provide for an analysis of this area.

However, a number of studies (cf.57) show the role of the family environment and a number of weaknesses in the education system. If the present Minister for National Education considers it necessary to make 1985 the year for a return to basic skills : reading, writing, arithmetic, etc.... for all French people, one can easily imagine the much greater impact this will have on pupils of foreign origin.

Their material living conditions (housing, large families, health) are in themselves a disturbing factor often aggravated by the wish of the parents to cultivate the culture (and the language !) of origin and by their own weaknesses with regard to the culture of the host country.

"Special segregation" resulting from geographical and residential concentrations creates ghettos in which a decline in the level of education is evident.

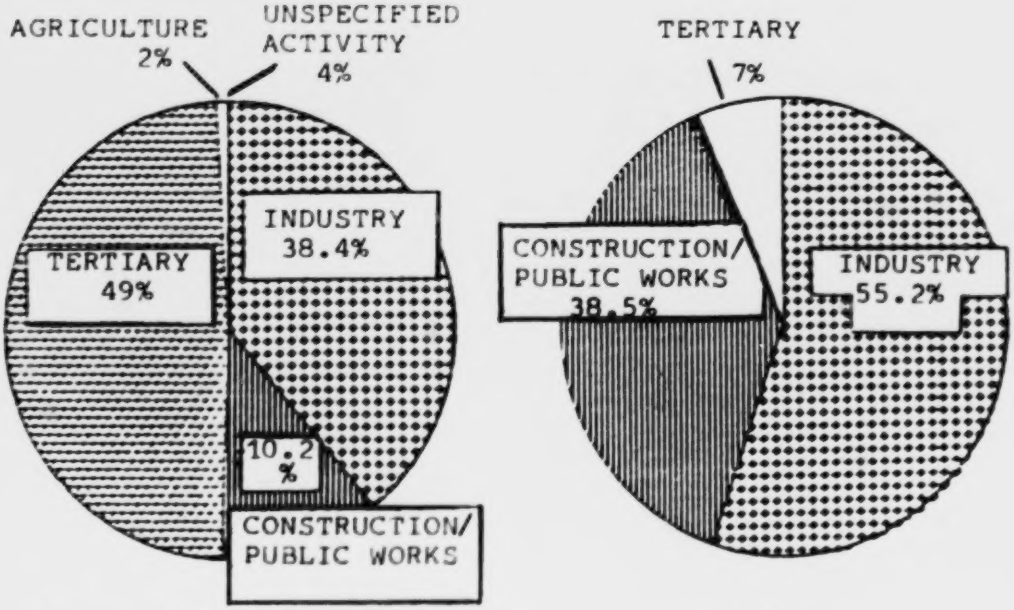
Finally, there is the dilemma of the parents situated between the desire to see their children move into an employment situation of which they have dreamt but which they have been unable to achieve and the precarious environment in which they find themselves and which results in a conflict of interests between educational needs and the financial necessity to have a job. According to some of our contacts, this contradiction differs in relationship to nationalities and to the sex of the children.

2.2.6. WHAT IS THEIR ROLE IN THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE COUNTRY ?

According to the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies - INSEE - the total working population amounted to 23 525 120 in 1982, of whom just over 2 000 000 were unemployed. Migrant workers accounted for 1 556 260, 86% (1 338 120) holding a job whilst 14% (as opposed to 8% on a national average) being unemployed (218 140).

In general they do not occupy highly qualified jobs : more than 85% are skilled or semi-skilled workers. They represent 17.5% of all workers (25% of unskilled labour and only 2% of management.(Cf. special issue of "Le Monde" number 115 of 10 October 1984, which also published the following diagram.)

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOUR FORCE
BY SECTORS
(in undertakings with at least 10 employees)



FRENCH AND FOREIGNERS

FOREIGNERS

Source : INSEE "Démographie et emploi 96D", March 1984

2.2.7. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

It was necessary to present a general overview of the foreign population in France. However, it does not always give a true reflection of the situation : we have already seen the discrepancies in the figures. Quite apart from this aspect, reality is much more difficult to analyse and evaluate. Two remarks on this subject :

- The given classifications never take into account language competency and the difference between the various cultures. A Yugoslav for example, although a European, will probably feel more "foreign" in France than an Italian, a European like himself, or indeed than a French-speaking Algerian, i.e. a non-European. The ability of foreigners to speak French has not been given any consideration.
  On the other hand, the geographical distribution of foreigners, linked with formerly prosperous industrial zones and combined with the poor level of qualifications of first generation migrants weighs heavily on the future prospects of the second generation, which is forced into the mould prepared by its predecessor, as is generally the case in any dependent situation.

- Over two generations the number of foreigners in France has grown considerably (1 532 000 in 1921) but they already represented a large proportion of the total population : 6% in 1926, 5.35% in 1936, 6.6% in 1931. This should be born in mind.

  What will the situation be to-morrow?

- A tentative forecast inspired by the work of Mr. LEBON (cf.14) combines primary factors (rate of naturalization and migration) with secondary factors (marriage rate, birth rate, mortality) as a function of four different hypotheses.

This work allows a tentative forecast to be made of the foreign population development in France at five year intervals up to the year 2015. 32 projections are proposed : 4 of which surpass the present number of foreigners, arriving at the maximum figure of 3 532 000. All the others are lower, the lowest being 2 629 000. Taking the two extreme projections, the range extends from -23.6% to +2.6%.

2.3. SECOND GENERATION MIGRANTS

Not only is the term unsuitable, it is inaccurate (cf.14) for, as far as this group is concerned, the statistical sources are even less reliable than those already quoted.

2.3.1. THE NEGATIVE BIAS OF THE SOURCES

Based on the declaration of the parents, the census relating to young people suffers from a number of disadvantages : language difficulties and a lack of understanding of the nationality code (in particular with regard to the Algerians). The Ministry of the Interior for its part did not take into account young people under 16. They are not obliged to apply for a residence permit. In the region of Paris, the latter were only made the subject of a simple estimation. On the other hand, the parents are able to declare, all in good faith, the children who have remained in their own country. Thus, as compared with the estimate of the number of adults, the figures obtained are much less accurate.

However, the presence of these young people is certainly felt in French public opinion both for reason of deviant behaviour and exploitation of which they are the authors and of the murderous 22 rifle shots of which they are the victims, but also for reason of the peace marches and demonstrations they organize in the hope of a better future.

The actual situation is certainly far from that described by the figures, but an attempt may be made at a generalization on the basis of the census.

2.3.2. YOUNG FOREIGNERS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

We have drawn up a number of tables (source the 1982 census) followed by some comments.

FOREIGNERS BY AGE GROUPS		
0 to 14	948 880	25.8%
15 to 24	544 160	14.7%
25 and above	2 187 060	59.5%
TOTAL	3 680 100	100 %

Here the conclusions are clear; one outstanding feature:

> 4 out of 10 foreigners are under 25 and account for a total of almost 1.5 million.

But let us look at these figures in more detail:

FOREIGNERS IN THE AGE GROUP 0 to 24 AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

	Statistical category	M	F	TOTAL
1	Foreigners 0 to 24	765 760	727 280	1 493 040
2	Total national + foreigners 0 to 24	10 117 740	9 708 760	19 826 500
3	Relationship between 1 and 2	7.57%	7.49%	7.53%
4	Foreigners 25 and above	1 338 600	828 460	2 187 060
5	Relationship between 1 and 4	36.39%	46.15%	40.57%
6	Total foreigners (1 + 4)	2 104 360	1 575 740	3 680 100
7	Relationship of 1 by sex to 1 total	51.3%	48.7%	-
8	Relationship of 4 by sex to 4 total	61.2%	38.8%	-
9	Relationship of 1 by sex to 6 total	20.80%	19.76%	-

This table is interesting in itself, but, compared with previous studies (cf.55), it givesrise to three comments.

First of all, the foreign population under 25 is substantial, but above all it is increasing. At present, it represents 7.5% of all young people (nationals and foreigners under 25) whilst in the 1975 census this group accounted for only 6.6%. The number and proportion of these young people is increasing at the same time as their young French counterparts are decreasing. If to this quantitative aspect we add qualitative connotations with regard to training available to and pursued by the one group or the other - and we shall return to this aspect - we can see immediately the disparity towards which we are moving.

This phenomenon, to which a number of writers have already drawn our attention (cf.57) is worth stressing in view of its magnitude. The growth rate quoted by these authors for the 16 to 21 year olds in the period 1979 to 1984 is as follows:

Tunisians	+ 49%
Moroccans	+ 43%
Algerians	+ 37%
Portuguese	+ 34%
Foreigners in the 16 to 21 age group in total	+ 23%

This significant overall growth rate particularly involves the North Africans and the Portuguese, who are already well represented. Furthermore, this is just of the age group which is in transition to working life. The problems which this poses are accentuated by their geographical location, i.e. in zones which already have a substantial foreign population and to make matters worse are often marked by the economic crises. Through these figures we arrive at an exponential accumulation of the difficulties.

The female population amongst this second generation is increasing and already surpasses by far that of other countries such as Belgium.

Another table provides more specific figures on the "second generation" at least with regard to their initial countries of origin.

Source INSEE 1982 census	YOUNG FOREIGN POPULATION BY INITIAL COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN		
ORIGIN	TOTAL 0 to 24	< 15	15 to 24
Algeria	379 380	254 920	124 460
Portugal	352 720	218 620	134 100
Morocco	216 760	156 640	60 120
Tunisia	89 120	64 860	24 260
Spain	85 520	44 320	44 200
Turkey	69 860	53 420	16 440
Italy	66 840	33 480	33 360
Other EEC countries	37 040	15 820	22 220
Others	321 160	106 800	86 000
Total	1 493 040	948 880	544 160

By regrouping the figures presented in this table, it is possible to identify the principal currents of migration as related to age, with an indication of the educational efforts to be undertaken.

		under 15	15 to 24
North Africans :	Algerians	254 920	124 460
	Moroccans	156 640	60 120
	Tunisians	64 860	24 260
	Total :	476 420	208 840
Iberians :	Portuguese	218 000	134 100
	Spaniards	44 320	44 200
	Total :	262 320	178 300
Others :	Turks	53 420	16 440
	Italians	33 480	33 360

Essentially, it should be noted that

- one young person out of 3 is in the process of entering the labour market and that in the coming years the number can only increase;
- Algerians and Portuguese account for roughly the same proportion. Accordingly, a change has occurred since the previous census which showed the Portuguese ahead of the Algerians;
- these two nationalities alone account for almost 50% of young people of foreign origin and that the North Africans (Algerians, Moroccans, Tunisians) together represent almost 45% (against roughly 1/3 in 1975) and young people originating from the Iberian peninsula account for almost 30%.

Basic conclusions :

- Taking the foreign population in France to be the least inexact figure of 5 million, the most interesting fact is that 4 out of 10 are under 25 and account for at least 1.5 million.

- They are increasing rapidly in number whilst their young French counterparts do not show the same development.

- The North Africans represent the greatest number but there are almost as many young Portuguese as young Algerians.

- There is also a marked increase in the female population which is not more than 2.6 points away from that of boys (as opposed to 4.2 in 1975).

- 1 out of 3 young people is in the process of entering the labour market.

3 - ANALYSIS BY PROBLEM ZONE

3.1. YOUNG PEOPLE OF FOREIGN ORIGIN AND THEIR EDUCATION

"The integration of the children of migrants, the so-called second generation, into school and working life is one of the most formidable problems facing French society, and may lead to an increase in poverty... It is failure at school which takes place from the very beginning of compulsory education which causes young people to leave the education system prematurely. Despite the provision of substantial financial aids and regardless of the clearly established objectives of equal opportunities and efforts to counteract inequalities within the education system, the school is unable to check the growth in poverty." (cf.16)

In the course of this study these comments have proved to be more and more of fundamental significance. It is therefore appropriate and important to devote a separate chapter to the education system. Without establishing a fixed rule, it may indeed be said that by the age of 16 all, or almost all, the decisions have been taken. It is at an early stage that the points are set to lead either to a dead end or a side track, and often this marks the final point of reference for working life.

Another aspect arises. One should bear in mind the distinction between juridical reality (a young person of Algerian origin who has adopted French nationality or even a young person of French birth from overseas departments and territories) and the cultural reality which stands in the way of their integration. Statistics can nourish a fictitious situation and conceal the cultural problems.

3.1.1. FROM THE "CONJUNCTURAL" TO THE STRUCTURAL : some figures

In 1982-83, the number of young foreigners attending school in metropolitan France amounted to 1 025 300, roughly comprising 67% in primary and 33% in secondary education.

Also in general terms, they represent 10% of all pupils in primary education (9.5 in 1980-81) and 6.1% of all pupils in secondary education (5.7 in 1980-81).

These figures are one indicator. There is another : between 1975/76 and 1982/83 the proportion of young foreigners in the education system moved from the index 100 to the index 125.4. However, this gains in significance as a result of the fact that during the same period the total school population moved from the index 100 to 98.6 (cf.7).

From 1981/82 to 1982/83 the index increased by more than 4%. 94.8% of young people of foreign origin are undergoing public education. Like the articles devoted to these problems, the statistics in their entirety do not permit a comparison with studies carried out in other countries. Nevertheless, they provide a possibility of measuring and underlining the most significant aspects of the problem.

In particular, we point out the growth of this problem, which is reflected in the following table.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN NATIONALS IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

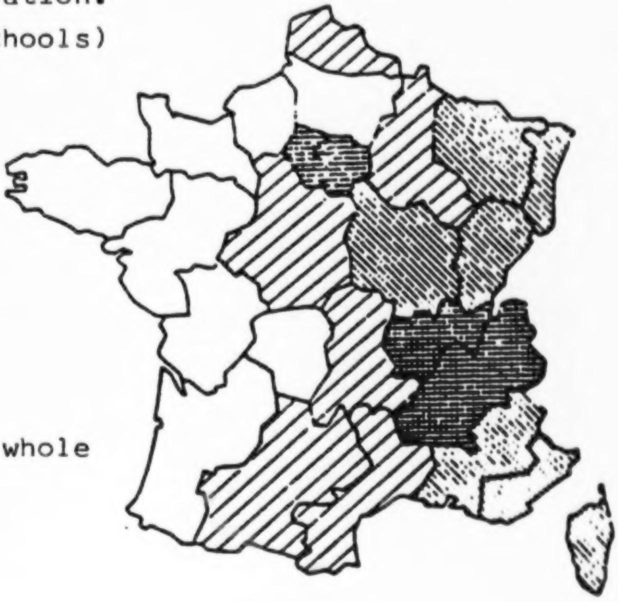
Year	Primary School Public & Private	Secondary School Public & Private	SES + Remedial Classes + ENP	Total Secondary Schools	Index
1975-76	562 994	(public alone: 228 148)	11 584	?	100
1976-77	574 809	232 655	?	?	
1977-78	619 333	245 027	?	?	
1978-79	620 538	261 863	17 929	279 792	
1979-80	649 199	275 783	18 585	294 368	
1980-81	655 776	288 103	20 453	308 556	117.8
1981-82	666 551	299 284	20 011	319 295	120.6
1982-83	689 136	315 758	20 434	336 192	125.4

Important as it is in itself, this growth deserves attention for reason of the fact that over the years the total school population will either diminish or become stable. The percentage of young foreigners (only 5% a number of years ago) presents a problem - at least it is experienced as such - the problem of "the tolerance threshold". There are undeniable pedagogical repercussions which are heightened by geographical concentration. However, in other respects this issue relates to our immediate sociological intolerance.

The following map shows the regions with the highest foreign population in the education system.

PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN PUPILS IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN METROPOLITAN FRANCE 1982-1983

Foreign pupils as a percentage of the total primary and secondary school population.
(Public and private schools)



☐ under 5%
▨ 5 to 7.5%
▧ 7.5 to 9.9%
▦ 10% and above

Average for the whole of France 7.6%

One of the troubling aspects of this growth lies in the increase in the percentage of foreign pupils in "special education". This can be seen as a consequence of the policy of the regrouping of families (cf.44) marked by

- a steady increase in the number of North African pupils (in particular Moroccans) and Turkish pupils
- the stabilization of pupils of Portuguese origin
- a drop in the number of pupils from Spain (many returning home as the result of the change in the political situation) and from Italy.

After this general review, it is appropriate to determine the significant aspects of this extensive problem, and, without becoming too involved in detail, to identify basic trends.

3.1.2. SOME SIGNIFICANT FACTS

As opposed to the observations already made, a certain number of studies (cf. bibliography) carried out over the last three years now allow a detailed analysis to be made of this extremely important phenomenon of young people of foreign origin within the education system. The information now available, more than in the past, permits a comparison to be made between French pupils and foreign pupils, consideration being given to levels of education and nationality. In this context, however, it is difficult to see how an appropriate comparison can be made with the studies conducted in other countries. Furthermore, we shall limit our attention to those specific points of interest which meet the objectives of this study.

In addition, it is appropriate to point out a certain number of efforts which have been made and which are now bearing fruit.

3.1.2.1. REASONS FOR A DEFENSIVE APPROACH

Initial situation.

Underlying all the problems to be found in all, or almost all, analyses, the lack of knowledge of the French language and the problem of communication is the first obvious handicap affecting all levels of educational and social integration. Its link with the importance of transition to nursery school, its significance for the repetition of classes, its consequence for future orientation and its connection with the failure of young people to achieve, is evident to all concerned. However, we have not arrived at an analysis which, although dealing with the question in general, is adequately detailed, for example by linking the phenomenon with the age of the young people when arriving in the country, with any education they may have received formerly in their country of origin,and comparing these facts with their school career. It is true that some of the information obtained has not resulted from a systematic survey.

Three figures concerning young people entering the 6th class are extremely significant :
As compared with the 69.6% of pupils of French nationality entering the 6th class (boys 65.3%, girls 73.8%), 65.3% are pupils of foreign origin born in France (boys 61.9%, girls 68.22%) but only 52.4% of pupils of foreign origin born abroad (boys 50%, girls 54.8%) are admitted to this class.

These figures show, and it cannot be sufficiently stressed, the role played "up-stream" by pre-elementary and elementary education. This is indeed the first educational phase leading to socialization and above all knowledge of the language.

All the studies agree that these first phases are extremely important and that pre-school education plays a fundamental role as does an early immersion in a climate or environment in which the French culture predominates; the consequences of any subsequent failure are too grave for this aspect not to be underlined. The same is true of the subsequent phase - primary or elementary education. Only a third of the children of foreigners pass through normal primary education (amongst those who are wholly educated in France) as compared with more than half of the French pupils (cf.1).

The percentage of normal primary education increases clearly with the duration of pre-school education. 60% of those pupils at primary schools who were born abroad had not received pre-school education. With regard to young people of foreign origin born in France and compared with young people of French nationality, their education is affected by the socio-professional status of the father. Where the head of the family is an unskilled worker it can be seen that their primary education is less often "normal" (31.6%) than in the case of French pupils (36.9%) while this gap is practically non-existent with the children of skilled workers. On the other hand, whilst there is little difference in the figures for foreign boys and girls, there is a marked difference with regard to normal primary education for French pupils (boys 33.2%, girls 40.5%). As we have already shown, these factors have repercussions for entry to the 6th class. It should be mentioned at this point that those pupils born abroad are on an average older than those born in France (more than a third are at least 13 years of age if not much older as opposed to 10% in the case of young people of foreign origin born in France). This does not necessarily indicate that existing gaps are due to educational difficulties.

A number of writers also show that in certain cases the point of time of immigration gives rise to a difference in motivation and constraints. Within the historical framework of migration they have identified a different relationship of both parents and children vis-à-vis the host country.

All these factors are complementary and can only amplify the responsabilities and inadequacies of the educational system. Frequently both the written and spoken words often take the form of a criticism of the education system and, as expressed by one of our contacts,it is"the rate of failure which is a challenge to the school".

We shall be speaking of the initial phases.

These are :

1) PRE-ELEMENTARY education, i.e. NURSERY SCHOOL, for young people from 2,3,4 and 5 years of age. They pass on to
2) First DEGREE education, i.e. PRIMARY SCHOOL, for pupils in the age group 6 to 11. This covers

an ELEMENTARY "cycle" (elementary preparatory course 1 and 2, intermediate 1 and 2) for the majority of pupils

but also SPECIALIZED training, i.e.ADAPTATION classes for those who have serious difficulties

3) At the age of 11 the pupils move on to the second DEGREE comprising two CYCLES of which the FIRST comprises the following three elements

Entry into the 6th class in a "COLLEGE" with :
- 1 OBSERVATION CYCLE (2 years)
- 1 ORIENTATION CYCLE (2 years)

Entry into SES (Special Education Section) or ENP (Ecole Nationale de Perfectionnement (4 years))

At the end of the observation cycle 4 routes are possible :

- A move over to SES (see dotted line)
- The CPPN (classes pré-professionnelles de niveau, 1 year - 4th grade)
- Followed by 1 year in CPPN or entry into CPA (Centre de Préparation à l'Apprentissage, 1 year = 3rd grade)
- Direct move to an apprenticeship in CAP (Centre d'Apprentissage Professionnel, lasting 3 years)

4) After completing education at the "college" (4 years) the pupils enter the SECOND CYCLE. Here there are two possibilities, either the SECOND CYCLE (LONG) or the SECOND CYCLE (SHORT)

The LYCEE (3 years: second, first, final) in which the completion of studies is certified through a great number of baccalaureats (literary, scientific, technical, general, economic, commercial, etc....)

which in two years, in a Lycée d'Enseignement Professionnel, prepares the young people for a brevet d'enseignement professionnel (BEP)

3.1.2.2. GENERAL APPROACH, ORIENTATION AND THE FIRST CYCLE

Here we provide a simplified overview of the education system and trust that it will serve to clarify the nomenclature and the principal educational paths.

Once again the structure is simplified and only provides a general outline. There are a number of bridges and outlets into working life, but we wished to avoid complicating the survey of a complex organization in which, for example, the term "cycle" may cover a number of different things and which, in its totality, is an abstract entity even for the French, and even more so for the foreigner from Turkey or his native Cameroon.

What is clear is that the phases 1 and 2 referred to are very important periods which may have grave consequences. This has induced us to draw attention to the problems of orientation. Independent of confused parents faced with a system that they do not understand, numerous studies and publications show that many pupils should have been guided towards initiation classes and remedial classes and not towards "special schooling". At their expense there has been unjust confusion between intellectual difficulties or deficiencies and a simple lack of knowledge of the French language for reason of a recent immigration or the bilingualism of their family. All the problems of orientation and the corresponding criteria are at issue. It is also true of a pedagogic approach which, in many cases, takes into account the established norms rather than giving consideration to the difficulties of the pupils. The problem of age is linked with the knowledge of the language. Although the repetition of classes is no longer the rule, except at the request of the parents, a poor knowledge of French linked with the limited possibilities of back-up classes causes the pupils to drop behind, placing them outside the normal age brackets for a normal progression.

All this explains why foreigners are under-represented in the normal and "noble" education structures and are over-represented in the "inferior" structures. The studies (cf.3, 44, 39) conducted several years ago (i.e. in respect of pupils who are more or less now entering the labour market) show that if there is one tendency common to both French and foreigners, i.e. that there are more girls than boys undergoing "normal" education, there are many more foreigners in the CES (3.6 times the number at the lycées whilst for the French the relationship is 1.6 times), in the CET (1.10 times the number at the lycées as opposed to 0.46 for the French), in the "colleges" (6.5 times the number at the lycées as opposed to 1.5 times for the French), in the LEP (twice the number of those at the lycées as opposed to 1.5 times for the French). A breakdown by nationality also shows a considerable difference. In 1979 to 1980 the Algerians are counted for 40.9% of the foreign pupils at SES and in the remedial classes. The Portuguese accounted for 27.2%, the Moroccans 9.7%, the Italians 7.1% and the Spaniards 6.3%. Many of these pupils should have been given preparatory education in initiation classes and should not have been directed towards "special education". More recent figures (September 1984) resulting from a comparison of the situation in 1982/83 of two cohorts of French and foreigners four years after entering the 6th grade (cf.51) point in the same direction.
The following table gives the most significant figures.

SITUATION	OF 100 FOREIGNERS	OF 100 FRENCH
3rd grade normal	35.11	44.95
4th grade normal	8.75	15.41
3 years of CAP	25.31	15.62
Working life and apprenticeship	6.27	2.82

The differences in these figures speak for themselves.

3.1.2.3. AFTER PHASE "3", THE SECOND CYCLE AND "BEYOND"

We have only found a small number of elements which point to a difference between the French and foreigners within the 2nd cycle, in particular with regard to BEP. However, the following table is most valuable, it shows clearly the differences with regard to the respective position of 100 French and 100 foreigners.

2nd Cycle	Foreigners	French
Short : BEP	64	40
Long : LYCEE	36	60

Consideration should also be given to the question of "age" and the fact that young foreigners tend to lag behind their French contemporaries, i.e. in total 80% of foreign pupils (50% by one year, 30% by two or more). These figures differ according to the cycles : in the 2nd short cycle, 95% of foreign pupils lag behind by at least one year whilst in the long cycle, this applies to only 68%.

"Higher education" is situated apart. The following information is essentially drawn from the studies of SIGES (cf.5 and info note 82/42), the last of which relate to 1982.

Some figures :

1978/79 : 108 471 foreign students, i.e. 12.8% of the total university population, and 3.8% more than in the previous year

1981/82 : 114 000 foreign students, i.e. 12.8% of the total university population, and 2.9% more than in the previous year.

More than half (55%) are of African origin, 1/3 coming from the North African countries.

In 10 years (1971-1981) they increased in number from 49 800 to 114 000, i.e. a rise of 129%.

Their most common subject of study are : the arts (36.2%), sciences (22.1%), economic sciences (12.8%), law (12%). There are fewer students of medicine and only 2.5% are interested in technology.

However, their interests differ from those of French students in that there are almost equal numbers studying law and economic sciences whilst there are twice as many French students studying law than economic sciences.

It should also be noted that in the course of time they become discontent with the first cycle of studies, the figures remaining constant for the second cycle (approx. 30%) and increasing for the third cycle (1976/77: 21.6%, 1981/82: 30.7%) whereas for the French students the figures decline (12.5%) at the beginning of the academic year 1981).

In addition, as compared with the French student population, there are fewer female students (1 out of 3 as opposed to 1 out of 2 in France).

However, there is one important reservation : there is no means of establishing to what extent foreign students receive grants from their own countries, e.g. sons and daughters of diplomats or of immigrants, and in the latter case, to what social class they belong, e.g. management, etc.

3.1.3. CONCLUSIONS

The keystone to the integration of young people of foreign origin lies, as the majority of studies confirm, in their education. The facts speak for themselves.

Both the quantitative elements presented above, and the qualitative observations made in the field and at various meetings confirm that young migrants tend to be made subject to basic training which offers little possibility for career development. From the point of view of statistics, it is far from easy to make comparisons with the situation in other countries, but the facts are available.

There are numerous analysis of the various mechanisms which tend to exclude young foreigners from the normal education system. They tend to demonstrate the specific characteristics of this group through various activities.

Other factors may be added. Although the school should hold a privileged position with regard to the integration of this group, this is hardly the case. The family is another, but is often unable to fulfil this function. Furthermore, there are practically no links between the two. Reference should also be made to the sometimes difficult relationships between French youngsters and young foreigners and also amongst young foreigners of different origins.

Nevertheless, efforts have been undertaken and results achieved: the creation of suitable structures to give the young people a better possibility of learning French (initiation and adaptation classes, back up lessons); the provision of optional instruction in the languages and cultures of origin; the supply of information to people working in the field of education and special teacher training within the framework of CEFISEM (training and information centres for the teaching of the children of migrants), but these efforts are still modest in comparison with the needs.

Considerable emphasis must be placed on the fact that many studies show that pupils of foreign origin meet up with severe difficulties and experience a sad destiny (and this we must accept as a great challenge). However, all those studies which take as a basis for comparison French children in a similar social category (in particular unskilled workers) tend to show an identical development, with little hopes for the future on both sides.

Concerning the percentage of pupils who arrive at the "terminal grade" the figure is nevertheless higher for foreigners born in France than for French children coming from the same social class. This gives rise to two questions : Does the social category "unskilled workers" provide a single identity in both cases with regard to social difficulties and cultural levels? Secondly, do young foreigners find themselves in an under-qualified situation with regard to their real cultural and social potential?

Be it as it may, this is in fact the starting point for an analysis, and translation into concrete terms, of transition from school to training and to working life.

3.2. TRANSITION AFTER SCHOOL

3.2.1. GENERAL REVIEW

It is with this burden that the more fortunate foreign adolescents, i.e. those who have undergone a long period of schooling entirely in France, enter life at the age of 16.

But in order to gain access to working life, what paths are open? The first logical step would be, having vocational qualifications, to enter into working life and find or search for employment. The second would be to acquire vocational skills which are either lacking or are inadequate, and the third would be to prepare for working life by undergoing preparatory training.

It should be pointed out straightaway that no statistics are available which indicate the general division of young migrants into each of these three channels. Accordingly, any analysis must rely on fragmentary figures which cannot be easily compared as in some cases they relate to young people in the age group 15 to 18, others 16 to 21, 18 and above, etc. Furthermore, when a comparison is made between French nationals and foreigners, no consideration may be given to the age group or, if so, there is no differentiation according to nationality. In particular, the term "young foreigners", when used, often covers not only those directly of interest for this study, but also young South-East Asian refugees (not accounted for elsewhere), and sometimes young people from overseas departments and territories which sociologically and pedagogically are grouped with young people of foreign origin for reason of the difficulties they experience in respect of integration despite their being French.

One important fact should, however, be borne in mind when discussing future developments. It is the size of the group of young people leaving school. We are lacking exact figures, but in 1977, for example, it is known that they were roughly 325 000 young people of foreign origin in the age group 16 to 21 and 165 000 in the age group 22 to 26, i.e. a total of roughly 1/2 million. Current estimates are higher and can easily be set at between 550 and 600 000. The discussion of the various aspects of preparatory training, vocational training, unemployment, employment, etc.... must be seen against the background of these figures.

Since the latest detailed studies were conducted on this question, a series of measures have been undertaken, and it can be said that, to some extent, they have proved absolutely successful. It would be an exageration, however, to claim that they provide all the solutions. It should be added that in pursuing the, in more than one way, legitimate objective of non-discrimination, the statistics unfortunately do not permit a fine analysis of the aspects in which we are particularly interested. With the objective of avoiding any marginalization, integration measures often open the door to legal regulations, although this may be to the detriment of the need for a more rigorous scientific approach and thus, may not always be compatible with a more political approach in the true sense of the word.

We shall therefore proceed by providing a general description of the population under review.

3.2.2. CURRENT REGULATIONS

A wealth of literature has been issued over the last few years in order to draw people's attention to the problem. We shall only refer, in chronological order, to those we consider most relevant (and the most recent).

There is the memorandum of 7 January 1983 (Delegation for Employment NDE No. 2/83). It concerns "the admission of young foreigners of 16 years of age and above" to the training programme for young people of 16-18. With these measures, it is intended to grant access to these training courses to all young foreigners entitled to a work permit, i.e. :

- those for which general legal provision is made,
- those coming from Member States of the EEC,
- Algerians born in France after January 1963,

- refugees,
- those coming from French-speaking African countries South of the Sahara.

The value of this text : a clarification and an initial step forward. The resulting statistics : practically non-existent.

Circular No. 84/05 of the 1st February 1984 is also of particular interest in that it implements those measures adopted by the Council of Ministers at the end of August 1983 as a supplement to those run by the Social Action Fund for migrant workers. The philosophy of this text? "The growing number of unemployed migrants and the considerable number of young people of foreign origin leaving the education system without qualifications presents numerous quantitative and qualitative problems.... requiring the implementation of new measures.... designed to induce the mechanisms of civil law to provide training adapted to the needs of young people and adults of foreign origin who, so far, have had difficulty in finding training measures suited to their abilities". In this text we are interested in references to

- young people of foreign origin aged 16 to 21
- young people of foreign origin aged 21 to 26.

For the first group, the intention to take into account young people who have recently arrived in France or who have had less than four years' education is explicit. It points out the need for a specific pedagogical approach and form of organization, the mixing together of young French people and young foreigners, and the opportunity to undergo experimental training which could subsequently lead to the attendance of qualifying training courses at level 5. There is also a clear indication of the need for accompanying activities.

For the second group, stress is on access to training activities :

- employment/training contract
- employment/adaptation contract
- employment/orientation contract
- admission, as an exceptional measure, to training courses for 18-21 year olds and to pre-training courses of the Social Action Fund.

Although this circular aims at preventing marginalization, the existing situation is such that the constraints of the youth programme (circular of the Ministry for vocational training of 8 June 1983) provide little possibility for

- learning French (new arrivals with poor education)
- alternance training in enterprises
- an adequate period of training

The most recent text at our disposal was issued by the Ministry for Social Affairs and National Solidarity on 13 September 1984, FR/LLL/C 12. It repeats in essence the content of the main text concerned with training activities "for immigrant communities". We consider it useful to take this text as a structural basis as it provides a good outline of all the possibilities currently available.

A - Linguistic adaptation

Specific activities for migrants (supported by the Social Action Fund since 1975, reviewed in 1978/1981).

Non-specific activities (dating from 1978 and reviewed in 1984) introducing elements of cultural adaptation alongside vocational adaptation.

3 - Languages of origin

Activities in the educational establishments (initial circular dated 13 July 1939 !! fortunately reviewed since : 1975, 1976, 1977, 1983) relating to the languages and culture of origin in the colleges and grammar schools.

Activities financed by the Social Action Fund since 1978.

C - Activities for foreign pupils

This concerns activities within the schools and extra curricula activities and involves the Ministry for National Education, the Social Action Fund and the Ministry for Social Affairs and National Solidarity.

D - Youth activities

Numerous texts (7) issued in the period 1981 to 1983 deal with the question of access of young people of foreign origin to publicly available training courses.

Financing through the Social Action Fund : reference to the implications of the provisions made by various bodies (Ministry for vocational training, Delegation for vocational training, Ministry for women's rights) since the meeting of the Council of Ministers in 1983, which has already been referred to.

E - Vocational preparation and vocational training

Specific activities for migrants.

Here we have two sets of texts. The first set dates from 1975, the others from 1980 and 1981. All refer to the organization and financing (by the Social Action Fund and the European Social Fund, subsequently by the Social Action Fund alone) of "vocational preparation activities" and "part-time vocational training activities" having the common aim of vocational integration (training period of 950 hours) provision also being made for language training in a preparation course.

General activities.

Texts from 1978 to 1982 covering various aspects of training : educational leave, remuneration, integration in the programme "Avenir-Jeunes", alternance training for 16-18 year olds, practical work experience in initiatives organized by the Ministry for Leisure Time activities.

Financing, Social Action Fund.

New measures involving the Social Action Fund in respect of the training and vocational integration of young and adult migrant workers (circular 84/05 1er/0284 referred to above).

Law of 24 February 1984 reforming regulations concerning continuing vocational training.

F - Re-integration training

Texts essentially relating to the training of migrants returning to their countries of origin : with Portugal (1977), Senegal (1980) and for foreigners of various origins (1984).

N.B. A number of other texts referred to concern the remuneration of trainees.

These latter texts being made subject to a number of important decisions, we are provided with an inventory of the current French legislative framework.

In this chapter, we have endeavoured to give the reader a series of indicators providing an insight into the legislative context which has developed considerably, in some periods more than others and in particular in the last few years. Quite a number of the resultant orientations appear to have been positively influenced by the considerations and practical experience of the trainers.

It would be too much to present all the details, but all these rules and regulations, perhaps forbidding and confusing to a young Algerian or Portuguese, constitute the framework in which he must try to develop, if his schooling and cultural background have not enable him to by-pass them. But perhaps it is here indeed that he will find "his chance" for a positive development.

In reading all these texts, in particular the last few, one can see a tendency for more effective action towards social and vocational integration of young people from 16 to 26, whether they have experienced failure in the education system or difficulties resulting from the economic crisis (there often being a cause - effect relationship...), and with the aim of avoiding the marginalization of young people but rather providing access as rapidly as possible to the above-mentioned general activities. But again this attitude may also lead to the conclusion that for both a Frenchman or foreigner with a poor cultural background, the problems are closely related and the remedy or remedies identical.

3.2.3. TRAINING PROVISION AND ITS CRITICISM

After having examined the general situation, it is expedient to make a critical review. Essentially, the following comments are drawn from a synthesis report produced in 1982 for the public authorities and recorded in a note (AL/LLL/C 12) of the Directorate for Population and Migration dated 14 September 1984.

Provision.

At present, an immigrant faced with the problem of training has various training opportunities (irrespective of the age factor) provided for in :

a) a special programme financed for the main part by the Social Action Fund, i.e. :
   Courses in literary skills (240 hours for workers, outside working hours).
   Intensive literacy courses (for the unemployed).
   Pre-training courses (either full-time, 520, 720 or 960 hours, or part-time 240 hours), the aim of which is preparation for access to training leading to qualified skills.
   Socio-educational activities (180 hours mostly directed towards women; a dominant feature is language training as related to problems of regrouping and integration of children).
   Training activities involving the language and culture of origin (for adults and adolescents leaving the education system).
   Language adaptation courses (intensive courses, mostly for special groups, e.g. refugees).

b) A public programme, i.e.
   Activities financed by public funds such as the Vocational Training Fund, the National Employment Fund, and, since decentralization, the Regional Vocational Training Funds. Essentially, they cover:
   - an alternance training programme aimed at the integration and qualification of 16-26 year olds.
   - Activities involving adaptation, up-grading, re-training, social promotion, carried out by the Ministry for National Education, AFPA, the Chambers of Industry and Commerce and various associations.

Activities financed from the 1.1% contribution of enterprises.

Individual vocational leave financed by the enterprises, the State and the regions.

In addition, there are those activities carried out under the auspices of the "local missions", and more recently activities organized in those sectors of the economy particularly hard hit by the crisis : the steel and automobile industry.

Criticism.

The first point, although not an element of the hypothesis under examination but, for reason of the fact that it has an influence on pre-training and training activities, and that it is of some concern to the experts and practitioners interviewed, concerns financing and administrative aspects.

First of all, there is the complexity of the financing structures, in particular those relating to activities for young people aged 16-26. Without entering the labyrinth of detail well described in June 1984 (cf.24a), it should, nevertheless, be pointed out that the various combinations of "conventional" financing, of which there are five possibilities, and "co-financing" of which there are eleven possibilities, result in a financial structure which proves difficult to manage. Frequently, two and in most cases three methods of financing must be combined in order to launch an activitiy.

For the organizations and in particular the various associations there are a series of constraints which are most detrimental both in respect of their finality and lack of financial equilibrium. The tardy decisions of the Social Action Fund, competition with other organizations to be first in line for a grant, etc., makes it necessary for educational institutions to transform themselves into "treasure hunters", to lose precious time with administrative work and to launch activities often without knowing how they are to be financed.

Delays in payment are also a source of concern which disturb the financial equilibrium of the institutions, which, in general, do not have funds of their own, are unable to provide guarantees for a long-term loan, do not benefit from the three-year conventions with the State or grants from the Caisse Nationale des Marchés de l'Etat. Indeed, funds assigned to education are, so to speak, partially converted into profit to the benefit of the banks through the interest.

The time/pupil relationship - which trainers normally consider inadequate - is by consequence very poor as compared with the need for a system of education which takes into account the continuing guidance of trainees, a double investment for part of the programme, an individual follow-up, etc...... and the administrative burden linked with this organization.

The disparity in the system of remuneration for trainees according to age, the previous acquisition of a diploma or employment, being in the situation of a refugee or not, etc..., has, for some time, led to a separation of the groups for whom the educational and psychological repercussions remain absolutely contrary to the objectives pursued.

Finally, and above all, the general budget allocated to these activities, regardless of any increases made, still fall short of the needs.

We shall not return to this aspect, but it is nevertheless advisable to touch on those questions which, all too often, are neglected or underestimated; indeed, a bold policy could not establish itself without a generous budget.

The second criticism relates to the actual nature of training provision.

It is the product of an historical development, and throughout the pertinent regulations one finds traces of a policy characterized to too great an extent by the "aid aspect", by a lack of commitment and by the public authorities responsible for the training of immigrants.

All this is translated into a programme, the logic of which is criticized by many as being "all too obvious". Indeed, the very important and even fundamental issue of teaching literacy skills does not all that easily lead to a qualifying vocational training. We shall later return to a number of additional proposals for a real social integration.

The training programmes do not constitute a consistent whole, the "bridges" from one to the other are seldom found, if indeed they exist, and it would seem difficult to construct valid programmes based on the very varied points of departure adopted as criteria. It would be expedient to take into account models such as those of the unit system (ACUCES) combining individual courses and group training, those involving "capitalizable" or credit units as evidence of knowledge and experience gained, rather than falling back on to rigid courses which, although valid in themselves, have no links and interfaces. Similarly, it is advisable to vary the duration of training courses (this includes the financing of operations and remunerations, cf. previous chapter).

Furthermore, the quasi obligation, whilst easy to enforce, to assess the value of training as a means of gaining access to employment, although a desirable aim, is unrealistic. Trainers are not in control of the labour market. Their function is to train, not to find jobs. Considering the conditions for and financing of work-experience training ("stage"), it is clear that the pedagogical aspect, in view of the expected results, does not constitute another source of marginalization. There is, however, the underlying problem of the alignment of training to the labour market. The constraint or the criterion "placement" may well bring pressure to bear in the direction of a better solution, in order to avoid a form of training which has often been looked on as having the function of a "waiting room", and suspected as existing purely as a means of reducing the youth unemployment figures; it must, however, be admitted that this process of alignment has not as yet been used very successfully. Perhaps this gives rise to a need to reflect on the contents of work-experience training in terms of a greater adaptation.

If any criteria do exist for the assessment of such training, there are also many which relate to the transition from pre-training to qualifying training. It is here that criticism can be expressed in respect of the confusion between pre-training, orientation and selection, both with regard to its essence and its modalities. Several authors (cf. 32, 41, 34, 57) have shown that statistical research and studies at this level are few and far between but many stress the lack of a psychotechnical examination, the model for which is that of l'AFPA (access to work-experience training at the AFPA Centre is much sought-after). Indeed, this form of study absolutely relevant and coherent with the logic of our systems givesrise to reservation in that **it relies** more on our traditional forms of support and our culture and involvesa different "mental approach".

(For example : at the end of pre-training courses in three centres, 68.5% of young French people enter adult training, whilst in the case of young foreigners, the figure is only 41.5%) (cf.32). This is an important point : our culture not only creates careers but also the criteria for gaining access to them.

3.3. TEXTS AND FIGURES.......

It is distressing to introduce every new subject or problem area with the same preamble, but unfortunately it is necessary. Here too we shall attempt to obtain a better understanding of the situation, although we will always come up against the same problem : on the one hand, there is a vast collection of texts (governmental measures, selective studies, sectorial approaches which show quite clearly that since our first analysis of the problem at the end of 1981 "some" things have changed), but on the other hand, there is no effective way of measuring the overall implications and even less possibility of undertaking comparisons with other EEC countries (thus the title of this section). Political priorities have been redefined, the possibility of credits extended, the demographic development following the brake on immigration has for France modified the basis of this study since the time CEDEFOP placed the accent on the questions raised here. But already three to four years ago there was little possibility of mastering the statistics of the problem; the political will - with which we fundamentally agreed - not to marginalize foreigners and to integrate them as soon as possible into the system or community (without forgetting the number of children of foreign origin who have acquired French nationality) makes it less and less possible to achieve a methodical observation which would, at least, provide information on the extent to which these initial measures are of real service to those - and others - for whom they are specifically destined. In the following pages, therefore, we will find a juxtaposition of successive momentary elements which will bring to mind the TV programme for migrants "Mosaîque", from which, however, it is difficult to obtain an appreciation of the situation as a whole.

3.3.1. RECEPTION SYSTEMS

The available reception structures rely basically on two systems :

a) the "local missions" following the SCHWARTZ report (numbering 62 at the end of 1983)

b) the reception, information and guidance centres.

Whilst acknowledging the problem of identifying young people of foreign origin, a number of statements can, nevertheless, be made, the principal ones being :

- Whilst young foreigners sometimes represent a relatively large proportion of the population covered, the figures vary considerably (e.g. 22% at Belfort to 45% at Montbéliard - these two locations being only just about 20 Km apart). They can even rise to 52% (East of Lyon) and 70% at Venissieux and Marseilles.
- In general the percentage of young males is higher than that of young females.
- The majority of young people covered by the reception systems come from the working class (semi-skilled and skilled workers) and many also have retired parents.
- Often the "young foreigners" find themselves in the same situation as French youngsters in that they have a common history of social and educational failure.

AFPA for its part, in co-operation with ANPE, organizes joint or individual information sessions which for those asking for information may subsequently lead to training. Two surveys were organized over 15 days in December 1983 and a similar period in March 1984, covering all the psycho-technical services of AFPA. The sample totalled 12 000 enquirers, 91% coming from ANPE. 12% were foreigners and 5% those having taken on French nationality. 7 and 30%, i.e. a total of 37% of the sample, declared themselves as having one or two foreign parents respectively. 43% of the foreigners were under 24 (as compared with 58.5% of the French). Unfortunately, more detailed age relationships which could be of interest to us for this study have not been published (i.e. the link between educational level, status in employment, etc... and therefore of no use for our study). For almost one out of two foreign males and for 64% of foreign females the school-leaving age, according to the statistics is above 16. This does not, however, indicate the level attained. In the same way, it is not possible to extrapolate a number for a specific year. However, it may be added, with the same reserve, that more than half the foreigners are of North African origin (in order of importance Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia), roughly 1 out of 10 comes from South Africa and the Sahara and approx. 7.5% from South East Asia. Foreign females only account for approx. 15% as against 85% males. Women tend to seek employment in the informatics sector and in office work (47.7%) followed by the clothing industry (10.2%) whilst the men are attracted to the construction sector and public works (23.5%), electrical, electronics and refrigeration sectors (18.6%), driving and engine repairs (13.6%).

3.3.2. PRE-TRAINING

Concerning pre-vocational training, it is known that in 1983 the Social Action Fund (FAS) invested 107 million Francs in 691 "cycles" or "stages", 52% full-time and 48% part-time (accounting for a total of approx. 240 000 group-hours).

The FAS addresses those organizations providing pre-training. In 1983 there were 74 such organizations belonging to the establishments of the Ministry for National Education, in particular GRETA, the various associations and organizations (Chambers of Commerce and Industry, professional organizations, etc....). It should be noted that approx. 1/3 of the appropriations awarded by the FAS to the Ministry for National Education passed through AFDET (Association Française pour le Développement de l'Enseignement Technique) which played the role of intermediary. Its function was modified and re-aligned substentially in August 1983.

According to a survey undertaken in 1980 within AFDET, 27% of the 4 100 trainees accepted on a part-time basis were between 16 and 26 years of age. At the same time, the number of places offered to young immigrants for full-time pre-training organized by AFPA, by other centres, in specific training courses and those resulting from the youth employment pact, was estimated at 15 000. The conclusions drawn from another study conducted by ADEP (cf. 34) appear to be confirmed. It should be noted that the population covered by these training measures has increased and involves :

- job-seekers, the unemployed, often in the older age bracket and quasi illiterate, benefiting from various legal provisions or seeking employment.

- young people who have either joined their families or were born and educated in France but who, for the main part, failed at school and find themselves on the fringe of society.

The "pressure" of the new generation is increasing whilst at the same time there is a significant growth in the number of refugees. AFPA has also established this development.

This having been said, whole sectors of the economy are undergoing a restructuring process (the steel and car industries, the shipyards, the construction sector, public works, etc.). These are the sectors which often employ large numbers of foreign labourers and in which numerous jobs held by low-skill labour, to which group the immigrants belong, are being modified or eliminated. This could cause the problem to take a new direction in that it would no longer be a question of age groups, with which this study is concerned, but of regional sectoral occupations, major employment areas and regions (cf. the activities of AFPA at TALBOT). As a consequence, the FAS has already begun to regionalize its aid.

On this subject, mention should be made of the activities of the National Employment Fund - FNE - and above all the Social Action Fund - FAS.

A framework agreement was recently concluded (24 October 1984) between the two Ministries concerned, particularly for reason of economic and social restructuring. This affects a number of migrant workers and relates specifically to the lack of alignment between training provision and their needs. The corresponding budget (1/3 FAS, 2/3 FNE) amounts approximately to 140 Million Francs in 1985. This new link between the acquisition of literacy skills and pre-training, which involves the FAS and between pre-training and qualifications, which depends on the FNE, must lead to the vocational integration of migrant workers who are denied employment in enterprises undergoing a restructuring process. This training is of long duration (700 to 1 100 hours) and is not subject to an age limit. It is also too recent a measure for an objective assessment of the development to be made at present (this applies likewise to the criterion of age). This applies to the training initiated in 1983 by AFPA and involving 1 906 semi-skilled foreigners who became redundant after working at the Talbot factory in Poissy.

However, even before this agreement was concluded, the FAS financed a number of significant activities either within the framework of measures implemented by specific organizations (in particular AFDET) or by providing training courses for the public in general.

Returning to statistics, FAS has granted aid to foreign trainees as follows :

Financial Year	Full-time	Part-time
1981	10 000	5 600
1982	12 000 (1)	6 000
1983	5 894 (2)	4 830 (3)

1) Some of the full-time trainees were financed within the framework of public provision, the number of trainees catered for by FAS in 1982 is thus lower than 12 000.

2) Assessed figure based on decisions of the Administrative Board of FAS.

3) These involve AFDET courses, an estimate which is certainly lower than in reality.

For the majority of young people in question, pre-training represents the last chance to avoid ending up on the labour market in a very disadvantaged position. However, it will not be of use unless it is adapted to the specific needs. This lends significance to the role of guidance, accompanying and follow-up measures, with all the additional costs this involves. Recent provisions tend to take these additional costs into account (cf. circular 8405 of the

Ministry for vocational training and the responsible Secretary of State dated 18 February 1984 relating, amongst other things, to migrant workers). However, no exact figures exist concerning this programme, which is just as important as pre-training itself, and which, although investment and yield are certainly of an economic nature, has, above all, a "long-term" psychological impact. Taking the development of training content, for example, pre-training aims at bridging the existing gaps (cf. 34). However, no information is available on the overall outcome of this training, in particular with regard to the percentage of young people who reach the level required to pass the entrance examinations granting access to the vocational training centres. Furthermore, still from the perspective of a human, social and economic investment, it is regrettable that the selection processes give too much emphasis to the cultural background of the trainees and that the long waiting period prior to commencing an adult training course for example, constitutes an additional obstacle for the integration of young people and a further disappointment in their development.

It can be said with certainty that over the last few years progress has been made. However, the discussion, whether political, pedagogical or social, has not yet changed a situation in which to a varying degree the dominant factors are as follows :

- inadequate supportive guidance, which too often takes the form of a selection process;
- content too differentiated;
- obligation to limit oneself to profitable objectives;
- difficulty in finding an answer to the problems of young girls of foreign origin;
- education still too scholastic;
- objectives set at a level rarely attained.

3.3.3. VARIOUS TRAINING MEASURES

With regard to training provision related to guidance, integration and qualification, in particular for young people in the age group 16 to 18, we have taken a table published in June 1984 by "Migrants Formation", which relates to the year 1983.

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE AGE GROUP 16 to 18
by sex and provenance

Total France Year 1983

		Total	of which are foreigners	% Total
Men	Guidance	1 933	244	12.6
	Integration	9 222	1 127	12.2
	Qualification	8 326	1 084	13.0
	TOTAL	19 481	2 455	12.6
Women	Guidance	2 441	205	8.3
	Integration	9 621	917	9.5
	Qualification	6 560	478	7.2
	TOTAL	18 622	1 600	8.5
Together	Guidance	4 374	449	10.2
	Integration	18 843	2 044	10.8
	Qualification	14 886	1 562	10.4
	TOTAL	38 103	4 055	10.6

N.B. : Of the 4 055 foreign trainees covered by the survey, 82.2% were born abroad, 17.8% were born in France.

Another source (CNASEA - 9 March 1983) provides the following figures :

Total	of which are foreigners	%
34 359	3 852	11.2

(83.5% were born abroad and 16.5% were born in France)

- Point one : 4 000 foreigners is a small number.
- Point two : There is a greater participation in the integration training courses than in the qualification courses with a much lower participation in the orientation courses, i.e. a "foreign" participation inversely proportional to the degree of qualification of the training course.
- Point three : Young girls are under-represented in these three types of training, in particular in those providing qualifications.

This confirms the inequality of access of young migrant girls to training courses (distrust of the family vis-à-vis mixed training courses - role and status of a young girl of 16 to 18 in the family - strategy of the family and the young girl with regard to employment). Some thought should be given to the fact that young girls seem to have a more "normal" education and are fewer in number in the classes of CCPN, SES, CPA and the second short cycle from which the majority of the trainees originate.

The relevant analyses draw attention to the problem of the generally very low level of training, which in some cases almost reaches illiteracy.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the function of alternance training is faced with certain difficulties - related, it must be admitted, to a certain degree of racism - in finding training in enterprises which may offer a possibility for future employment. It would seem that alternance training for the 16 to 18 age group is often more likely to reveal difficulties of young people of foreign origin rather than solve them.

However, in all, the participation of foreigners is increasing as compared with previous "employment pacts".

6.7% under the first pact
5.6% under the second pact
5.7% under the third pact
11.2% in comparable training measures for the age group
16 to 18 at the end of February 1983

This is a considerable improvement, even if this rate of participation conceals the fact that there is a lower participation rate in training for qualifications.

3.3.4. THE BIG TRAINERS

Apart from the various sources of finance already referred to (the State in its many forms together with local communities), we find other parties who carry out various measures. The statements and reports of these bodies on their various activities offer another approach and another perspective.

There are two dominant parties : the one public : the Ministry for National Education, the other "para-public" : AFPA. However, one should also take into account what is being done on another public sector, i.e. by CCI and what is happening in the enterprises. We shall deal with them in that order.

With regard to National Education, we have already seen a significant proportion of its activities implemented through AFDET, which acts as an interface. But it also relies on CREDIF (Centre de Recherche pour la Diffusion du Français) and CNDP (Centre National de Documentation Pédagogique). Unfortunately, here too statistics are lacking or are unsuitable for our present purpose. A publication of SIGES (Service de l'Informatique de Gestion et des Statistiques du Ministère de l'Education Nationale) does, however, give two indications of general interest. Within the framework of continuing training financed from public funds, the activities directed towards migrant workers involved 19 100 participants in 1983 (i.e. 2.9 million participant-hours). This is a slight drop as compared with 1982 (19 800 participants). Unfortunately, we do not have any indication as to the percentage of young people in this group. The other indication refers to young trainees in the age groups 16 to 18 and 18 to 21 in 1983.

The number of participants amounted to 74 800. Nevertheless, although the age group is known, a differentiation by national origin is not.

The study of the training of foreigners at AFPA meets up with similar difficulties. The origin of the trainees was exactly recorded each year, but it was impossible to determine the proportion of young people, a link between age and nationality not having been made. There are interesting studies (cf. 12, 57), but they refer to years which are too distant to be taken into account here (1975-76-77 for example).

One point should, however, be noted : the percentage of foreigners (without distinction by age) as a percentage of the whole fluctuates.

1970	1971	1973	1974	1975	1977	1978	1979
11.3	11.7	12.6	13.1	14.4	15.5	10.1	13.3

After an increase in the participation of foreigners from 1970 to 1977 the figures are lower since 1978. No figures exist for more recent years. At all events, it would be of advantage to analyse in more detail the causes for these fluctuations : variations in the movement of the French and Asians, a drop in the immigration figures, etc. However, this is not possible.

A study of AFPA concerning the "stagiaires" sitting the examination at the end of the training course from September 1982 to February 1983 inclusive, provides some interesting quantitative information. Let us first of all examine a general table of the results.

Training Sectors	Number of Trainees	% by nationality			Women
		French (home country)	French (overseas territories	Foreigners	
1) Level V Total	10 674				
Construction (building fabric)	1 297	67	10	23	0.2
Construction (interior work)	3 562	74	11	15	4.9
Electricity	866	79	4	17	7.9
General engineering	988	74	4	22	3.5
Repair sector	599	81	5	14	2.0
Steel plate/piping	422	75	4	20	0.7
Welding	799	64	12	24	0.4
Conductors	449	87	2	11	5.1
Hotel/catering	192	85	3	12	32.8
Textile operator	401	63	8	24	97.5
Office work	967	86	8	6	93.7
Various level V occupation	132	97	2	1	30.3
2) Level IV and III Total	1 109				
Construction	163	99	0	1	5.5
Design	31	94	0	6	12.9
Automotive (electr.)	434	83	5	7	2.5
Information technology	92	91	2	7	18.5
Physics/ chemistry	55	96	0	4	41.8
Secretary/ accountant	279	97	1	2	78.1
Commerce, distribution hotel sector	55	93	0	7	47.3
3) TOTAL OVERALL	11 783				

A breakdown has also been made by age group, sex and origin. However, these data are not correlated. We have shown the overall percentage of female trainees in order to indicate the centre their general vocational interests.

It is interesting to note that the AFPA services, in monitoring placements, considered it useful to adopt three criteria of origin : French (home country), French (overseas territories) and foreigners.

In the case of the last two groups, it can be seen that certain sectors are considered more attractive. These are :

construction (building fabric)	: 23%
general engineering and metal-working sector, including welding	: 21%
textile operators	: 24%

Furthermore, it can be seen that for different levels of training the percentage of foreigners diminishes proportionally by more than 2/3. This also applies to the trainees from overseas territories.

	Training level V	Training levels IV and III
Foreigners	17%	5%
Overseas territories	8%	2%
France (home country)	75%	93%
Number in total	10 674	1 109

All these figures serve as an interesting quantitative indicator.

The experience of AFPA gives rise to additional quantitative observations.

Spanish and Portuguese workers (cf. 57) have for a long time been under-represented in the training centres. This can be explained by a difference in attitude towards training, a difference which itself is linked with the motives which led to immigration. For the Portuguese workers, the creation of savings to be reinvested in their native country and the rapid collection of capital are a dominant feature. This attitude, already referred to when dealing with the question of education, would seem to confirm, purely on the basis of observations, one of the hypotheses of the German study, according to which belonging to an ethnic group has a strong influence on the choice between "training followed by work" "work and an immediate wage".

In the same context, the North Africans would appear to be that group of foreigners who would like to obtain a qualification leading to a profession which is more remunerative and both in the eyes of their parents and their children has a higher status value.

A number of comparisons between 200 migrants and 200 French people shows that the aspirations of the one or the other do not differ to any great extent and that the pre-training of young migrants leads to a greater demand for skilled and satisfying jobs. Being better informed than their parents with regard to opportunities, young migrants share the aspirations of their French counterparts. (Conclusions identical with those of the CEDEFOP's studies).

It has been repeatedly established that failure at school and the judgement of the psychologists concerning the intellectual capacity of those concerned, lead to an orientation which is undesired and "traditional" (metal-working, construction sectors).

Another interesting fact : "AFPA always offers interesting opportunities for those completing pre-training". However, the respondent practitioners modify this statement for reason of the waiting time for certain occupations.

The third partner involved is the network of training centres, ASFO, etc.., which depend on the Chambers of Industry and Commerce. We do not, however, have any general figures concerning the training of young people of foreign origin in this area. Accordingly, a mere reference must suffice.

Training in enterprises only relates to employed foreigners benefiting from training under the provisions of the Law of July 1971, since amended. At least until recently, and we shall return to this aspect later, there are few studies apart from those of LA SEDES (cf. 58), dating from 1979, which cover this field. Without entering into detail, a number of general observations can be made : The study is six years old and consequently presents an image of a period in which training policy relating to migrant workers was linked with a stagnation or decline in the number of unskilled workers, whilst at the same time it was considered that in two cases out of three, it would be unlikely for them to be replaced by French workers in the following years, both for technical reasons (the refusal of the French workers to carry out certain jobs) and economic reasons (the refusal of the French workers to accept, in their opinion, too low a wage). A third of the enterprises would have welcomed this substitution but "to challenge the presence of migrants would, at the same time, be a denial of their economic function (fulfilment of low-skill, low-wage tasks). Thus there can be no policy of substitution".

The disadvantage of this study is that it does not make a distinction by age group and does not express the results as a percentage. However, it covered about forty enterprises with a total of approximately 150 000 employees, about 30 000 of whom were migrants - an interesting sample throwing some light on social attitudes within this context.

A number of observations in brief : A diagnosis of needs is rarely to be found. Information and records concerning requests for training must also be seen in relationship with the control function, often considered to be an obstacle. The importance of training for migrant workers is assessed according to the percentage of the budget allocated to them and is frequently inferior to their importance in terms of number (in exceptional cases the reverse is true). Lack of interest in literacy training considered to be long, expensive and of little benefit to the enterprise. Training courses are too short to be effective (92 hours of literacy training whereas at least 250 are desirable) and for the main part are carried out on an irregular basis. Main priorities : technical training (33/41 enterprises), literacy training (28/41), general basic training (18/41). However, concerning "technical" training, it is not always easy to distinguish what is training for the job, which should not be taken as falling under the 1% legal commitment.

23 enterprises consider that it is the workers who are the source of training obstacles, however, 20 consider this to be the result of the policy they pursue : the initial low level of education, which gives rise to a long training process is a factor where origin lies with the migrants, whilst the need for unskilled posts with limited internal promotion opportunities has its origin in the enterprise. Frequently, the attitude of the "little bosses" is also looked on as being an obstacle.

In concluding, it may be said that in-company training of migrants follows two patterns :

1) courses in the French language and a number of integration elements,

2) short technical training courses linked with the priority interest of the enterprise (training for the job, prevention of accidents at work).

With regard to vocational training, access remains just as difficult for someone employed as it was when he left school or completed pre-training.

The study, we remember, was carried out in 1979. The situation may have changed, but we are not aware of any more recent studies which could verify this. A number of industrial sectors affected by the economic crisis are faced with another form of in-company training particularly where there is a high percentage of low-skilled labour comprising a large number of migrant workers. The constraints relating to the modernization of the production process combined with the need for restructuring result in over-staffing. This leads either to the training of employees for new qualifications or, immediately or in the short-term, to redundancy. The public authorities and unions are calling for the establishment of "social plans" providing for large scale conversion training, although - except perhaps in the first case mentioned - this will no longer concern the field of activity for which the individuals in question underwent initial training. Although perhaps we have not adequately dealt with in-company training, we shall now proceed to :

Re-training

Often this form of training involves a great number of migrants - a consequence of the low-skill jobs they hold. Within the enterprise this training aims to adapt the employees to new jobs or may have the aim of preparing the migrant for a return to his/her country of origin or for another job. We are not aware of any statistics relating to the 16-to 26-year-olds to whom this re-training may apply. On the other hand, these activities, which unfortunately must be developed in the numerous sectors already referred to, are much too recent for us to be able to make an analysis for the purposes of this study. (On this subject, it should perhaps be mentioned that for the three conversion sectors in Lorraine 1 500 to 2 000 individuals - of all ages and nationalities - were covered by this type of activity in 1985).

3.3.5. TRAINING OF REFUGEES AND TRAINING FOR A RETURN HOME

These two aspects would not appear to fit into the framework of the study. However, they highlight two problem areas which, although in a different way, appear to us to be sufficiently linked with the general problem. We shall outline them in brief.

Training for refugees. Like all stateless persons, refugees are not covered by the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior. In September 1984,"France Terre d'Asile" estimated that there were a total of approx. 200 000 in France. On 31 December 1983 OFPRA (Office Français de Protection des Réfugiés et Apatrides) had registered 161 208, more than half (85 598) of Asian origin (Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos accounting for 2/3) and approx. 20% Africans. The number of young people in this figure is not specified.

They differ from other migrant workers in that there is a considerable heterogeneity in their level of education and culture; they frequently arrive "as a family" and have a different state of mind : being obliged to leave their country, they are often still in a state of shock and always have the intention of returning to their country under more favourable political circumstances. Their settlement in France is, in their opinion, only a temporary phase. Accordingly, they are less motivated for training. From this point of view, their situation is often very similar to that of the immigrants, disregarding the question of heterogeneity in the level of education. For this reason, we considered it justified to make this brief reference without, however, being able to distinguish between young people and adults.

On arrival, the refugee may find individual accommodation with the help of friends or may stay at one of the CPH hostels (Centre Provisoire d'Hébergement) for a period of six months. In the latter case, the refugee is given introductory language courses with a duration of 240 hours. The influx of refugees from South East Asia has, since 1975, led to other forms of training with a duration of 520 hours which pursue the objective of adapting the persons concerned to socio-professional life in France. The heterogeneous groupings, their irregular arrival, the differences in their personal situations and the poor training of trainers, are difficulties which affect both training and the search for finances.

It is difficult to give more specific details on this subject but, in our opinion, it was worth referring to. (cf. 18 and 43).

The question of training for the return to the home country is a totally different aspect of the question of training for migrants and, in particular, young people. Here it is no longer a question of facilitating their integration but rather their departure.
Coming from various sources, this type of activity forms a part of a sociological and political development. The concept or plan for "immigration-rotation" was for a long time a motivating factor : one went abroad to learn a language or a trade and one returned home with one's belongings, career opportunities (e.g. in the hotel trade) and some savings. This "intangible" situation and this flow of migrants was also marked by a number of changes in the societies of origin and developments in the host societies. The economic crisis in the industrial countries, including France, brought about far-reaching social changes, particularly with regard to the attitudes of migrants, the attitudes of the host countries and the economy of the countries of origin from what, a few years earlier, had been

assumed to be absolutely stable. "Those who return home can no longer be considered in terms of the productive reintegration of individuals bearing a new social status and, consequently, are subject from the point of view of supply and demand to the macro-economic changes in the country of origin." (cf. 18) The attitude of young people has also changed considerably. The host countries would like to see this return home as a welcome solution to existing problems, in particular unemployment; a gap is to be seen in the attitudes of young people (cf. 35) between their aspirations and a number of questions concerning job opportunities, accommodation, living conditions, wage, social security, i.e. self realization. This relates in particular to the status of women in North African countries.

Although training activities which have been developed in this direction may represent "particularly high costs for an uncertain result" as pointed out by the Court of Auditors (cf. Le Monde 14 July 1981) they must be recognized as being of high quality, regardless of their limited quantity. In a note of April 1984, the Directorate for Continuing Training of the Ministry for National Education indicated that from 1975 to 1983 GRETA had organized 71 training courses covering 870 trainees for an average duration of 10 months (1 350 hours) particularly in industry, the construction sector, public works and the tertiary sector. Other statistics give trainee figures for the 6 years 1975/76 to 1980/81 as follows : Senegal 76 trainees, Tunisia 59, Portugal 52, Mali 44, others - excluding Algeria - 64.

Algeria was excluded in view of the fact that training courses are developed according to bilateral agreements between France and the country of origin, and in this respect, Algeria is one of the partners which has realized the programme of training for return in the most concrete and the most positive manner.

In concluding this section, we have reproduced below an extract of the report MARANGE-LEBON (cf. 18).

"Over a total of six years, the experiment has covered fewer than 2 000 workers, more than 3/4 being Algerians; in the same period, the cost of the operation rose from 662 427 Francs to almost 28 000 000 Francs per annum, i.e. in all more than 72 millions Francs. It should be pointed out that the attention devoted to young people is a recent feature and that a special programme initiated in 1977 at the request of Algeria, did not actually take effect until 1979. More than 80% of these young trainees, out of a total of approximately 150, were Algerians, more than half having been born in France. Nevertheless, these training courses, which prepare the trainees for a vocational training certificate (CAP) selected by their country of origin with a view to the departure in due time of the whole of the family unit, do not give any account to the difference between adults, and any contractual conditions for the process of return. Difficulties of various kinds(not only related to employment) experienced in France may explain the sensitivity of the candidates with regard to the perspectives that the country of their parents may offer them. However, experience has shown that their motivation has remained somewhat fragile, even if only for reason of the fact that, for the majority, this country is an unknown entity. Furthermore, even if the education system offers them an opportunity for access to a higher level of training than the adults, they will, on the other hand, have the dual handicap of vocational inexperience and a poor knowledge of the language.

If in quantitative terms the results are relatively modest, this should not conceal positive qualitative aspects of the experiment and allow conclusions to be drawn for the future."

In concluding this subject, regardless of the pressure brought to bear on this area in France in the course of the years, and putting Algeria aside as a country of origin, they would appear to be little agreement between the theoretical discussion and the implementation of concrete measures. In most cases, the governments themselves are faced with the consequences of the crisis particularly in those countries with a high demographic growth rate, in which a section of the population "chose" to emigrate precisely for these reasons. Political and economic factors dictate the attitudes taken by these governments and may vary.

Portugal, for example, taking into account the unemployment rate and its dependence on the money transferred by the migrant workers, directs its attention towards the search for new immigration countries (cf. 36) and is endeavouring to overcome its structural deficiencies, and the consequences of those measures designed to stop immigration. Although not supported by many specific studies, it should be noted that in Morocco and Tunisia there is a certain reluctance on the part of the authorities to favour a return home, both for economic and domestic policy reasons. There is a dual problem : on the one hand, there is an imbalance between demand and supply as represented by young workers, and on the other, the difficulty of setting up appropriate structures to receive these workers. Algeria, however, quite openly welcomes reintegration. All that remains to be said is that according to the SEDES study, a number of writers are asking themselves whether this discussion is based on "myth or reality".

3.4. YOUNG PEOPLE ON THE LABOUR MARKET

After what may be a phase of transition, but which may often be limited to a period of transit - in which for the majority of the time, as we have seen, access to pre-training and training remains limited - the young people find themselves in what is called the "active population", i.e. amongst those who have a job and those who do not. We shall first deal with the latter group, the most disadvantaged.

3.4.1. JOB-SEEKERS

Statistics relating to the unemployment of foreigners, even more so than other groups, must, according to the specialists, be interpreted with caution. Some figures exist, but they are not related to any previous training, the period of residence in France, etc.

The following table is based on figures published by J. WISNIEWSKI (cf. 61) and provides a general view of the development from 1974 to 1980 inclusive, and for the whole of the immigrant job-seeking population. We have added the corresponding figures for 1983 and the first half of 1984.

	REGISTERED JOB-SEEKERS (Foreigners male & female from 18 to 60 years of age and above)				
1974	1st quarter	59 499	1979	1st quarter	82 345
	2nd quarter	50 071		2nd quarter	69 786
	3rd quarter	54 759		3rd quarter	72 724
	4th quarter	79 722		4th quarter	81 147
1975	1st quarter	88 138	1980	1st quarter	89 012
	2nd quarter	76 808		2nd quarter	81 092
	3rd quarter	71 329		3rd quarter	67 889
	4th quarter	82 022		4th quarter	92 863
1976	1st quarter	73 909	81/82	-	-
	2nd quarter	58 686			
	3rd quarter	61 354			
	4th quarter	77 112			
1977	1st quarter	76 801	1983	1st quarter	96 827
	2nd quarter	100 056		2nd quarter	89 206
	3rd quarter	72 307		3rd quarter	100 402
	4th quarter	77 504		4th quarter	117 964
1978	1st quarter	106 801	1984	1st quarter	98 808
	2nd quarter	71 379		2nd quarter	86 915
	3rd quarter	93 079			
	4th quarter	84 592			

The only figures missing are those for the years for 1981/82, which would complete the 10 year overview.

The general increase, with no differentiation either for sex or age, is not surprising considering the overall situation. The variations can be explained, amongst other things, by the stop on immigration. In the first quarter of 1983, foreigners accounted for 12.1% of the job-seekers, in the second quarter of 1984 the figure was 11.5%, whilst in 1982 (census figures) foreigners only accounted for 6.6% of the active population. Accordingly, they would appear to be hard hit by unemployment. Mr. LEBON pointed out that the unemployment of foreigners was developing "in line with unemployment in general" but that on the other hand, "as compared with the total unemployed under 25, the percentage of young foreigners is increasing from year to year" (cf.14).

The following table refers specifically to foreign job-seekers under 25 and shows the situation at specific points in time throughout a 10-year period, with a higher frequency in the recent past.

FOREIGN JOB-SEEKERS UNDER 25					
	30.06.74	31.03.78	20.06.83	10.05.84	01.01.84
M	4 352 60.7%	11 234 47.9%	15 972 63.1%	15 840 62.8%	14 273 61.6%
F	2 825 39.3%	12 236 52.1%	9 327 36.9%	9 397 37.2%	8 905 38.4%
TOTAL	7 166 100%	23 470 100%	25 299 100%	25 237 100%	23 182 100%

A certain degree of "feminization" in the search for jobs can be noted, returning it would seem to an average rate comparable to that 10 years earlier.

On the other hand, the total number of young people seeking jobs is more or less three times the figure at the beginning of this same period.

In extension of these figures, the following table shows more detailed figures for 1983 and the first half of 1984, and is based on statistics of ANPE which indicate the number of job-seekers under 25 according to nationality and sex for the four quarters of 1983 and the first two of 1984.

JOB-SEEKERS UNDER 25 BY SEX AND NATIONALITY

(Source : Ministry of Labour - ANPE)

	1st Quarter 83			2nd Quarter 83			3rd Quarter 83			4th Quarter 83			1st Quarter 84			2nd Quarter 84		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
(1) FRENCH	178819	153457	332276	166347	161003	327350	272194	292605	564799	254844	222179	477023	185641	156243	341884	172677	159372	332049
(2) FOREIGNERS EEC	1148	858	2006	1060	825	1885	1610	1372	2982	1409	1170	2579	1045	799	1844	941	793	1743
SPANISH	876	555	1431	772	582	1354	1356	1014	2320	1203	867	2070	833	554	1387	717	530	1247
PORTUGUESE	2627	1839	4466	2535	1944	4479	4162	3618	7780	3914	2822	6736	3192	2010	5202	2735	1973	4708
YUGOSLAVS	145	79	224	120	100	220	182	127	309	207	103	310	175	98	273	144	73	217
TURKS	873	230	1093	896	256	1152	1143	406	1549	1315	450	1765	929	331	1260	914	340	1254
OTHER EUROPEANS	183	122	305	132	93	225	177	123	300	195	147	342	153	111	264	157	111	268
ALGERIANS	4445	2805	7250	4060	2570	6630	5650	3976	9626	5430	3713	9143	3946	2607	6553	3418	2320	5738
MOROCCANS	1666	929	2595	1668	922	2590	2597	1516	4113	2585	1503	4088	1823	1010	2833	1768	1023	2791
TUNISIANS	1149	352	1501	1029	301	1330	1241	509	1750	1673	520	2193	1084	300	1384	924	298	1222
BLACK AFRICANS	236	65	301	241	80	321	231	87	318	306	103	409	179	52	231	130	73	203
OTHER AFRICANS	850	336	1186	898	318	1216	896	438	1334	1140	433	1573	656	356	1012	577	331	908
VIET.LAOT.CAMBOD.	1059	879	1938	1043	836	1879	1406	1080	2486	1301	1024	2325	1012	796	1808	973	745	1718
OTHER ASIANS	489	106	595	452	91	543	449	110	559	654	144	798	562	150	712	636	120	756
NORTH AMERICANS	13	20	33	18	13	31	34	29	63	31	40	71	19	24	43	17	21	38
SOUTH AMERICANS	115	93	208	112	94	206	117	110	227	156	123	279	144	123	267	150	98	248
OCEANIANS	108	59	167	93	51	144	135	81	216	170	97	267	88	76	164	76	56	132
(3) FOREIGNERS (NON EEC)	14824	8469	23293	14069	8251	22320	19726	13224	32950	20280	12089	32369	14795	8598	23393	13336	8112	21448
(4) TOTAL FOREIGNERS (2 & 3)	15972	9327	25299	15129	9076	24205	21336	14596	35932	21689	13259	34948	15840	9397	25237	14277	8905	23182
(5) GRAND TOTAL	194791	162784	357575	181476	170079	351555	293530	307201	600731	276533	235438	511971	201481	165640	367121	186954	168277	355231

Finally, it is difficult to "retrace internal movements of jobs, changes from one job to another, unemployment and inactivity, and to relate these movements to the employment situation and to unemployment in its many variations" (cf. 18). It is also important to view these figures in an overall framework and in relationship to specific points in time. This extensive and significant task was carried out under the aegis of J. MARANGE and A. LEBON and, based on figures for a somewhat earlier period (1980) permits a general analysis. Below we have reproduced the synoptic table with the conclusions of the authors (cf. 18)

	Situation A		Situation B	
1	$\frac{\text{Young unemployed foreigners}}{\text{Total unemployed}}$	= 2.7%	$\frac{\text{Young unemployed foreigners}}{\text{Total unemployed foreigners}}$	= 26.8%
2	$\frac{\text{Young foreign active pop.}}{\text{Total active pop.}}$	=between 0.9 & 1%	$\frac{\text{Young foreign active pop.}}{\text{Total active foreign pop.}}$	=between 13.4 & 15.

	Situation C		M	F
1	$\frac{\text{Young foreign registered unemployed}}{\text{Total young unemployed}}$	= 6.2%	7.8%	5.3%
		and by sex		
2	$\frac{\text{Young foreign active pop.}}{\text{Total young active pop.}}$	= between 5.5 & 5.7%	from 5.9% to 6.4%	from 5.0% to 4.9%

N.B. : The term "young people" in this context is taken to be under 25

Sources : (1) Ministry of Employment - ANPE
(2) Employment Surveys - INSEE

"From these comparisons, it can be seen that the rate of unemployment of the young foreign active population is :

- much higher than that of the total active population (Situation A);

- much higher than that of the total foreign population (Situation B)
- roughly the same as that of the total young active population (Situation C): this is more the case for the young active foreign female population than for the young active foreign male population, where the unemployment rate appears to be higher than that of the total young active male population.

A breakdown by nationality as per 30 June 1974 and 30 June 1981 shows that the risk of unemployment tends to be stable. Fundamentally, the differences lie in the varying situations to the extent that the groups hardest hit in 1974 are the same in 1981 (Algerians 31.4 and 36.5%, Portuguese 10.5% and 15.5%), i.e. the nationalities least affected show a declining tendency (Italians 9.9% then 6.7%, Spaniards 9.0% and 6.9%). In these two communities the great number of individuals acquiring French nationality may in part explain the drop in the percentage of unemployed young foreigners in these groups. As a result of their taking on French nationality, it is no longer possible to identify them, unless they changed their situation with regard to employment.

The dominant idea obtained from numerous papers on this question is that, as in the case of young French people, instability, poor job qualifications and lack of experience are the main obstacles to finding a job. However, in many cases, there would also seem to be a certain degree of segregation : "With my face and name..... I will never find a job !" A despondent statement by a young migrant as quoted by Martine CHARLOT. Apart from the figures, there is the real experience of unemployment, a situation which is difficult to understand for someone who has not experienced it, all the more so if he has the advantage of a protected status. Apart from the bread-winning function, work is also, and above all, a means of establishing one's social identity.

3.4.2. JOB-HOLDERS

We should now look at those who would appear to have a better chance in that, regardless of their handicaps, they have found employment. However, as A. LEBON points out : "there are no tables which break down the resident active and employed population (nationals and foreigners) by economic activity, age group and sex" (cf. 26). On the other hand, the figure obtained in the 1982 census and the employment survey conducted in March 1982 (which involved the total active population, i.e. including job-seekers) provides a basis for analysis.

Census figures :

- total active population	23 525 120
- foreign active population	1 556 260 (i.e. 6.6%)

(N.B. : In the third quarter of 1983 foreigners accounted for 12.6% of the job-seekers and in the second quarter of 1984 11.5%)

Employment survey figures :

Breakdown of the active young foreign population in the age group 15 to 24 :

Male	Female	Total	%
128 103	101 275	229 378	14.7% of the total active foreign population

Unfortunately, the statistics obtained from this survey do not permit a link to be made with the nationalities.

The employment survey provides us with other indications such as the economic activities in which the majority of foreigners are to be found (without distinguishing by age) :

The main sectors are :

	%
- construction, civil and agricultural engineering	20.3%
- semi-finished goods industry	10.3%
- agriculture	10 %
- consumer goods industry	8.9%
- heavy industry	8.5%
- producer goods industry	8.4%

(the percentages are based on the employed population)

The following table concerns the active foreign population by socio-professional category and sex (again without distinction by age).

Cat.Socio-professional	Male	%	Female	%	%
Farming	3 159	(0.3%)	2 669	(0.4%)	0.4%
Craftsmen, merchants and business owners	46 308	4.1	9 594	1.5	3.1
Management and academic professions	55 365	3.7	17 794	3.7	3.7
"intermediate" professions	68 102	2.7	26 427	1.5	2.2
Salaried workers	74 024	5	210 816	4.6	4.7
Wage earners	839 830	14.5	156 322	10.3	13.6
Unemployed who have never held a job	15 290	13.7	31 763	16	15.2
Total	1 102 078	8.2	455 385	4.7	6.7

(Percentages based on the total work force (French + foreigners) in the category concerned)

There is no way in which these various figures can be cross-linked : age, field of activity, level of employment. A certain number of studies (cf. 26, 57, 36, 32) carried out some years ago, underline the fact that young foreigners are practically confined to a "dequalified" labour market, like other young people without professional experience, but with the additional disadvantage related specifically to their origin. Neither the economic crisis nor the reoccurrence of racism is likely to have brought about a change in these analyses. Like their fathers, the young migrants often have poor qualifications, which act as a barrier in a specific social and economic condition. The similarity of the various sectors of activity and the levels of qualification of different generations, with some exceptions for example in the case of Algerians, thanks to the extensive efforts undertaken, is supported by numerous statistical tables published by the authors already referred to. However, even if one were to differentiate according to the attitudes of groups of different national origin, it indicates the impact of immigration and the local economic situation of the parents on the future of their children. Furthermore, there can be seen to exist a kind of negative synergy. The evolution and decline of the textile industry in the north, the steel industry in the east, etc.

3.5. INTEGRATION - IMPACT AND DIMENSION

As stipulated in the instructions for this study, we are entering a vast area concerning the integration of young people of foreign origin. Whilst work is a capital asset, training is an essential condition. But often it embodies what Duccio GUERRA has referred to as a "cultural and social deficit" (cf. 29). A negative combination of these factors and the absence of links between the three educational areas, i.e. the family, school and society (for PERROTI : a "schizophrenic crevice") has such an impact that we are obliged to highlight a number of aspects of varying importance but which provide a range of parameters reflected in reports and articles and in our various contacts more so than in the studies.

3.5.1. ACCOMMODATION

The migration pattern according to which an individual arrives in a host country mostly with the intention of staying for a short time or, even more so, the policies relating to the rejoining of families have a considerable impact on the life of the individual.

What Maurice EGERMANN calls "the drama of distance" has given rise to a situation in which families are separated, trips home are onerous and consequently rare, the result being isolation and rupture of relationships, which are difficult to bear. The foreign population living in France, including the second generation, thus faces a desiquilibrium in its often dislocated structure. In addition, the population is grouped in such a way that the town becomes a field of social contradictions (cf. 54) to the extent that in the social area, there is a tendency for marginalization to occur, also as a consequence of the creation of ghettos in the towns. The migrant districts, housing blocks which are often decaying or insanitary, shanty towns lacking normal facilities have given rise to a special form of social life and have led to the creation of ghettos, a feature which is not without consequences for the communities living there. At this general level, there is also the problem of over-population (cf. 32 and 57). A number of contacts (e.g. M. TAUVEL) have underlined the risk of a "false integration": an integration "à l'américaine" where the presence of migrants is more or less tolerated but where they remain a foreign body. Together with this problem of accommodation, the general employment situation, payment, instability, greater susceptibility to industrial accidents, make life a precarious prospect. This is certainly shared by many French people but is much more acute amongst immigrants as a result of their being uprooted from their social setting. The great majority of young people live with their families until they get married and the degree of poverty determines in various ways their development and their degree of integration (in particular these include the general state of health, the rate of infant mortality and, certainly, the impact on their educational development).

3.5.2. THE FAMILY

In this different world, although sharing the same needs as many French people, the foreigners are often the subject of racial discrimination and of confinement to their own nationality, a factor which places them apart and creates a division even amongst themselves. In this world, the place of the "family", which traditionally is the focal point of custom and standards, plays a much more important role, the sole point of reference and identification in a hectic and troublesome everyday life (cf. 37, 36, 32). Apart from the classical conflict between generations, it is here, too, that the difference between the migratory situation of the parents, with all their difficulties, and the situation they have created for their children plays an important role - a situation which the latter have tried, in every way, to master themselves. A number of detailed observations limited to certain nationalities and cultures are worth mentioning. For example, the family plays a dominant role in the second generation of Portuguese and Algerians and this would seem to be closely linked with the respective role of the religions (practically "state religions") as concerns the role of the parents, the situation of women and the organization of family life. For the Algerians two types of organization stand out, which depend on the function, whether almost non-existent or predominant, of the father, the role of women being still very limited. As a result, the second generation is either left to itself or subject to an anachronistic authoritarianism. The boys, enjoying the privileges of the Muslim culture, accept, adopt and reproduce what is their heritage, whilst the young girls find themselves at odds with their environment and the independence it inspires. The temptation to escape through work but also through suicide is a common result. Although the young Portuguese find themselves in a similar situation, it is accepted more easily in that the cultural and geographical distance between the country of origin and the host country may have a palliative effect.

3.5.3. YOUNG GIRLS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN

There is a need for studies and reports to be made on the problems facing women of foreign origin. Little literature exists on the specific problems of young girls. We would, nevertheless, quote F. LEVY (cf. 54) the study of GRESCE (cf. 32), those of LEBON (cf. 26 and 46) and the French documentation (cf. 54) which certainly contains a number of up-to-date and most valuable articles.

We shall not at this point reopen the discussion as to their specific significance (the first part of this study and the articles quoted above provide information on this issue). Let us just note the growth in the employment of female foreign labour, particularly in the tertiary sector, the double disadvantage of young girls as compared with their male compatriots and the position occupied by women in general in connection with up-grading and vocational preparation measures. The introduction of a regulation in 1982 would appear in general to have a positive result, but also reveals the progression of certain inequalities (the higher the standard of training courses the lower the participation rate). It should also be noted that from a comparison of the figures for 1975 and 1982, the rate of unemployment amongst foreigners has undergone a general increase of one point (from 6.1% to 7.2% for those under 25) but has risen from 37 to 45.7% for young girls under 25.

In addition to these figures there is perhaps a more important factor : the contradiction between their abilities and the fate which awaits them. In general, they are distinguished by educational criteria : better schooling, higher level of studies, better language abilities, good attitude towards school, greater investment in studies. However, the question of cultural background also plays an important role. On the one hand, they differ from the boys in that they have a more modern attitude and place more weight on less traditional cultural values. However, in particular the young girls from North

Africa, Portugal or Spain, still meet with considerable restraints (cf. 54) : the heritage of Islam in the North African societies - a religious,social and legal heritage, and in the Iberian peninsula, the church and the dictatorships. In these two cases, religion has a normative function and is not unrelated with social structures. Family relations fulfil a number of important functions, social roles are distributed in a rigid manner, in particular in relationship to the status and situation of women. Although this would seem to give rise to less tension in Portuguese families, the young North Africans, and perhaps in particular the Algerians, find themselves often in a situation of considerable conflict. So much so that an attempt to escape sometimes ends tragically, as already pointed out.

3.5.4. THE ENVIRONMENT

It is through the environmental dimension that young people attain their identity. Whether they are upheld or tend to be set aside, traditions, festivities, culinary habits (cf. 32) are "impressed" upon the French habits adopted by the young people (cf. 36). The adoption of a new culture and the quasi-unconscious process of integration develops in the course of time and through an increasing number of contacts. All the elements of social and cultural life provide and support reference models other than those "inherited". For boys, youth gangs represent a factor for integration where others are lacking. For girls - in particular Muslims - independence is more limited. In addition, there are a certain number of more "institutionalized" contacts : youth clubs, sports clubs, training courses, etc.... However, for a great number, the end of schooling is accompanied by a drop in the number of external contacts.

Doubtlessly, this phase could open up other forms of participative social life. Apart from the groups which are more inclined to cultivate the traditions of their original culture - a feature which is not considered here to be negative - an organized form of social life remains limited. The recent possibility of creating associations has not yet produced results and will not necessarily provide a dimension of integration. Union membership, which could be an indicator, appears to be extremely weak. The expected reforms concerning electoral participation have not been pursued, and participation in the public life of the host country is also limited. A certain number of spectacular national manifestations of public opinion have in the last few years borne witness to the expectation and hope for a peaceful progression in answer to the development of racist tendencies and reflected in the campaign "Touches pas à mon pote...." (Hands off my friends), but so far there has been little advancement towards the fulfilment of these hopes.

Another means of testing the relationship to the environment and the degree of integration - for lack of a means of monitoring a participative attitute - consists in the observation, as far as possible, of "inverse phenomena", i.e. deviance and delinquency. A number of studies deal with this aspect (cf. 5 and 18). Without entering into detail, we shall make brief reference to this point, particularly as the statistics must be treated with some care. It would appear that deviant acts are more often committed by young people of foreign origin, whilst they do not necessarily commit serious criminal acts. SEDES draws the careful conclusion that "there is no evidence that at a specific socio-economic level foreigners are more deliquent than the French, despite the social reactions to which they are subject". (cf. 57) Is this an optimistic view? We are unable to answer this question. What to us appears to be more serious is an observation made by Martine CHARLOT indicating that in 1980 drug-taking had already gained considerable ground amongst young people of foreign origin.

3.5.5. IDENTITY AND CULTURE

The problems of the immigrant adolescent in the search for his identity are similar to those of the young French person as regards his critical attitude towards the world of his parents and that of adults in general. However his difficulties are intensified as a result of his personal history and his different origin. His groping towards the future is marked by the opposition between the expectations of the family and that of his peer groups.

Another characteristic common to young immigrants and young French people is their relationship (different from that of their parents in both cases) to work and to training. B. SCHWARTZ also finds that a characteristic of young people is not their refusal to work but their "desacralizing" attitude. Work no longer is a symbol of social recognition (as it is "dequalified"). The attitude towards work is changing : young people no longer regard it as having an institutional dimension.

In addition to the difference in values amongst the generations we find as a matter of course a contrast between the values of the country of origin and those of the host country. A number of writers and respondents also refer to a "sub-culture" resulting from the deep-rooted heritage of the culture of origin and those cultural elements acquired in France. A world of cultural flexibility does not lead to the alternative of refusal or acceptance by society, but to a "pigeon-hole identity" (PERROTI).

Concerning the problems of culture in general, both for the young French people and young foreigners, we gladly adopt as our own the statement of J. HURSTEL when he writes :
"It is generally accepted that the cultural problems of young people will solve themselves when all the other problems have been solved. My view is the contrary.

Culture plays a central role in all problems relating to the social, economic and training situation of young people". (cf. 52)

Apart from the questions we have raised, there is the real and serious, present and future problem of integration. It is a significant fact that a number of our French and foreign contacts have, in the last few years, drawn attention to the emergence of an Islamic revival which, in their opinion, would appear to be the sole response which young people feel fulfils their needs for an identity and which is able to develop around the more traditionalist and more durable forms and structures. "It is not improbable for example that Islam as an integrating factor will grasp hold of the cultural void and the isolated situation in which thousands of young people find themselves, and will give rise to a cultural guerilla movement" TAHAR BEN JELLOUN (cf. 56) (When considering France in particular: "..the followers of the Koran constitute the second largest confessional group after the Catholics but before the Protestants and Jews....." - LE MONDE 2 April 1985).

Apart from dealing with traditional measures, which have been considerably improved, it is extremely important to determine how to create an identity against the background of a double negation : "neither French nor Portuguese, Algerian nor Yugoslav......". There is otherwise the risk that an imaginary identity will be built up, a mythical identity directed towards a, most improbable, return home (cf. 36). Such an identity however, will never make young people of foreign origin real members of the host society.

4 - CONCLUSIONS

Using the information supplied by field workers, experts and civil servants, and by studying developments in the various regions of France, by analysing past and present statistics and studies, and by making use of public and private documentation centres and the wealth of available literature, a practical approach to the issue in question can be found. It obviously has its limits. Certainly other opinions would have deserved attention. However, if this additional "knowledge" of reality leads to an acknowledgement of the situation of the young people concerned - even if the findings of this study are over-simplified, the contract will have been fulfilled.

4.1. FINDINGS : RECAPITULATION

The lack or inadequacy of statistics was apparent throughout the study, to the effect that quite a number of the CEDEFOP hypothesis could not be put to a valid test. Although, in addition, the deficiencies in the statistical system do not provide a picture of the sociological reality, a number of facts do emerge : on the one hand the structural development as regards the foreign population in France is characterized by the predomination of North Africans, Spaniards and Portuguese but also by a growing number of "young people", and in particular girls, whilst at the same time the number of young French people is on the decline.

Numbering approx. 1.5 million, they undergo, with a varying degree of fortune, a form of education which is hindered by the problems of language, which in turn prevent progress, give rise to the repetition of classes, result in the young people being oriented to shorter periods of education offering neither qualifications nor real prospects for the future.

The cultural attitudes of their parents, the inflexibility of the education system, living and social conditions combine in such a way that often the parents over-estimate the value of school without being able to grasp rationally what it represents.

Concerning education - often entailing a selection by failure - the young foreigners of 16 to 18 suffer the same disadvantages as their French counterparts of the same age in a similar socio-economic condition, but with the additional problem of the cultural shock - above all for the group of adolescents. The systems of vocational preparation and training, which could serve as a relay providing a chance to catch up, are, from the point of view of quantitative provision, quite inadequate.

From the qualitative point of view, training methods and content are not always suitably adapted to the needs, whilst frequently, efforts which have been undertaken in this direction get carried away in the stream of the administrative and financial system.

The problem of coherence between vocational preparation and training, an orientation often based on selection, a whole barrage of tests, waiting times, few openings for young immigrants, and, above all, the total inadequacy of the number of available places weighs heavily on the goodwill of the individuals and institutions concerned.

It is true that since 1981 a number of things have been changed, but although the official discussion may be currently more positive, it is nevertheless surprising that such a considerable amount of time is needed to put those proposals which were already put forward by the training circles some years ago into practice. Everything has happened as if the true extent of the problem was not appreciated, or if so only piecemeal, and after some delay.

Training in enterprises does not offer any additional perspectives, whilst training for the return home, normally of good quality but rarely offered and very costly, is often seen to be linked with an "off-loading" policy rather than an element of exchange with the country of origin.

With regard to their situation as a section of the active population, it can be said that young migrants are more susceptible to unemployment than their elders, but not necessarily more so than young nationals with the same socio-cultural background. However, in this respect the young North Africans are the most vulnerable.

Although inadequately prepared for the labour market after having followed a course which from the beginning was often hypothetical, a certain number of young people nevertheless find a job. But here too, as if by predestination linked with poverty, the geographical implantation of their parents, the low skill occupations of their fathers, they often find themselves in the same, often insecure, occupational sectors. It is true that this reproduction of the labour force does show a greater proportion of female labour and a higher degree of employment in the tertiary sector as regards the active, young foreign population, but this does not suffice to overcome the deficiencies in the training received, the aspirations which remain unfulfilled and the opportunities lost.

In general, if the handicaps encountered by young people of foreign origin also apply to young French people with an identical socio-economic background, and if the economic crisis has a multiplying effect both for the one group and the other, young immigrants still have the additional disadvantage of growing inequality as a consequence of an environment in which they have no roots, searching for their identity within a system of conflicting cultures where their own fate is influenced or even dictated by the history of the previous generation.

It should also be noted that at a certain point quantitative elements transform a problem into qualitative terms. A whole number of questions are related to this aspect. What is the significance of the demographic development resulting from the growth in a number of young foreigners and the drop in the number of young nationals? What problems result from this increase in low-skill or unskilled foreign labour and what impact does it have on the nationals? What type of qualifications will the national economy require tomorrow and what proposals can be made concerning vocational orientation? What policies should be pursued as a result? And above all, what can be done to enable these young people to live in two different cultures : theirs and ours?

We should not deceive ourselves however : the "second generation" will not replace the first any more than it will be absorbed by the mass. (Some refer to it as a new generation : the "zero generation".) It would be illogical or even dangerous to neglect or underestimate the significance of the statements addressing this situation.

4.2. TODAY AND TOMORROW

4.2.1. FOUR CONDITIONS WOULD SEEM TO ARISE

If not equality but the equality of opportunities is desired and if the problems are not to be attached specifically to young people of foreign origin, it would undoubtedly be expedient to accept, temporarily, the principle of positive discrimination and specific activities and the principle of a selective statistical coverage which will not - under a cloak of respectable generosity - cause those questions which should not be dissociated from those relating to young French people of the same socio-economic origin to be lost in a flood of public regulations.

A number of processes must be observed in the administration of social development. At certain points, it is expedient to set one's sights on the phenomenon of marginality - if it is not to be forgotten or off-set politically in one sense or another - with the aim of stimulating and mobilizing the conscience of the community at large and, above all, of supplying additional resources to those in need. On the contrary, to perpetuate a given situation may result in its becoming firmly established and permanently marginal. There is thus a call for a return to a more general policy as soon as possible, with special measures being taken where this proves inadequate.

A yardstick for the measurement of the political "bonne volonté" lies in its interpretation in terms of budget funds.

The matter is urgent. It is necessary to avoid becoming entangled in a web of administrative and complex financial systems and cumbersome coordination structures.

4.2.2. SOME PROPOSALS

The first concerns the improvement of information on the issue in question : poor statistics, study planning, etc...

The second is linked with the importance of appropriate schooling. It is the keystone for any integration (introduction to the language, instrument in the socialization process), it should provide ways and means of facilitating and effecting integration at "variable speeds", i.e. where age does not become a prohibitive criterion. Being open with regard to the cultures of origin, it should amongst other things offer the possibility of instruction in the Islamic culture.

At the same time, it is necessary to develop a system of information and training for parents in order to reduce the gap between them, their children and the institutions.

Similarly, the orientation of young people must begin at an early stage and should be designed as a continuous follow-up activity. For this purpose, use should be made of the various cultural institutions in order to be where the young people are to be found and not to wait until they are resigned to taking one route or another. About 1955 J. DUMAZEDIER proposed that "cultural cafés" be opened as that is where young people went. Today Jean HURSTEL advocates a similar line of action.

Vocational preparation should become an instrument specifically designed to facilitate integration. There would seem to be a growing need for an institutional location between school and work where 16- to 18-year-olds are given a chance of "recuperating", but without it having an institutional character. Here we find time for orientation, an opportunity to "catch up", an opening to life, and reconciliation with an environment which serves as an instrument for "social mediation" to use a term of J. DELORS; this instrument could, for example, be created or developed along the lines of the "local missions".

Concerning vocational training, even if it is assumed that the failure rate in initial training will decline considerably, a very great effort must be made both in terms of quantity and quality. The further development, both in size and number, of the "reception structures", and the reduction in waiting times will certainly involve a greater need for closer links to be forged between the training systems and employment policy. Inspired by the observations of the DPM, the proposals of B. SCHWARTZ, the action to be taken in the major employment zones, the activities of the Regions and the adaptation of regional structures could be realized through a programme implemented jointly by the State and the Regions. The foundations for such activities could lie in basic vocational and technical training relating to occupational fields, with the possible provision of specialization modules in the enterprises, judicious and controlled use being made of the vocational training levy. Integration would also be facilitated by a more general application of alternance training, a wider use of modular training structures and the recognition of skills already acquired.

Numerous measures have already been undertaken in different areas, e.g. in the regrouping of families, opportunities for integration and in particular, for us the most interesting area, vocational training. Consideration has also been given to a number of very valuable proposals made in the report of MARANGE LEBON for CFDT (in preparation for the meeting of the National Council for Immigrants concerning the training of immigrants), the proposals of CGT (concerning the training of immigrant workers and their families) and others. There is still a long way to go before the measures undertaken meet the existing needs.

It should also be remembered that all these activities lead to an increased awareness and information on the part of the "reception structures". For its part, the immigrant population has undeniably to make a great effort, and we for our part must deal with the still existent traces of racism, which expresses itself both in individual and collective reactions. The training of trainers and teachers, the training of social workers, administrators, the ANPE, the Social Security system, etc..., the employers' organizations, management, etc... would profit from suitable programmes. The media, the regional and municipal structures and the associations could make a valuable contribution in this field.

4.2.3. IN ADDITION......

It would be Utopian to think that with a few special measures and a genuine effort "things will turn out for the better".

This also applies to the supposition that the deficiencies referred to in this report concerning the relationship of young people of foreign origin to school, vocational training, employment and to their personal and cultural future are simply magnified by their special situation and that a solution can be found by way of a more general approach. This would indeed be too simple an analysis : either by treating them as marginal and only taking into consideration their specific difficulties, or by disregarding these difficulties and regarding these young people as a more critical element in a more general youth crisis. Just as they come from two different cultures, they are experiencing two different problems which to some extent overlap in a society undergoing change and faced with a crisis.

For some observers, they only represent an embarrassing demographic surplus : their problems, which form a part of a greater whole, constitute a problem for society. Certainly new measures are needed..... but also a new perspective.

Today consideration must be given to larger scale action in to combat instability and poverty. Instability not only in a material sense (employment, housing, residence....) but the double psychological insecurity which prohibits the development - except in ones imagination - of a concrete plan, through which this instability could be overcome. Poverty not only relates to the lower statistical threshold as regards income, employment, education, housing,health,etc., but is a dynamic, negative development in which these elements are combined and which are often the sole heritage for this "second generation

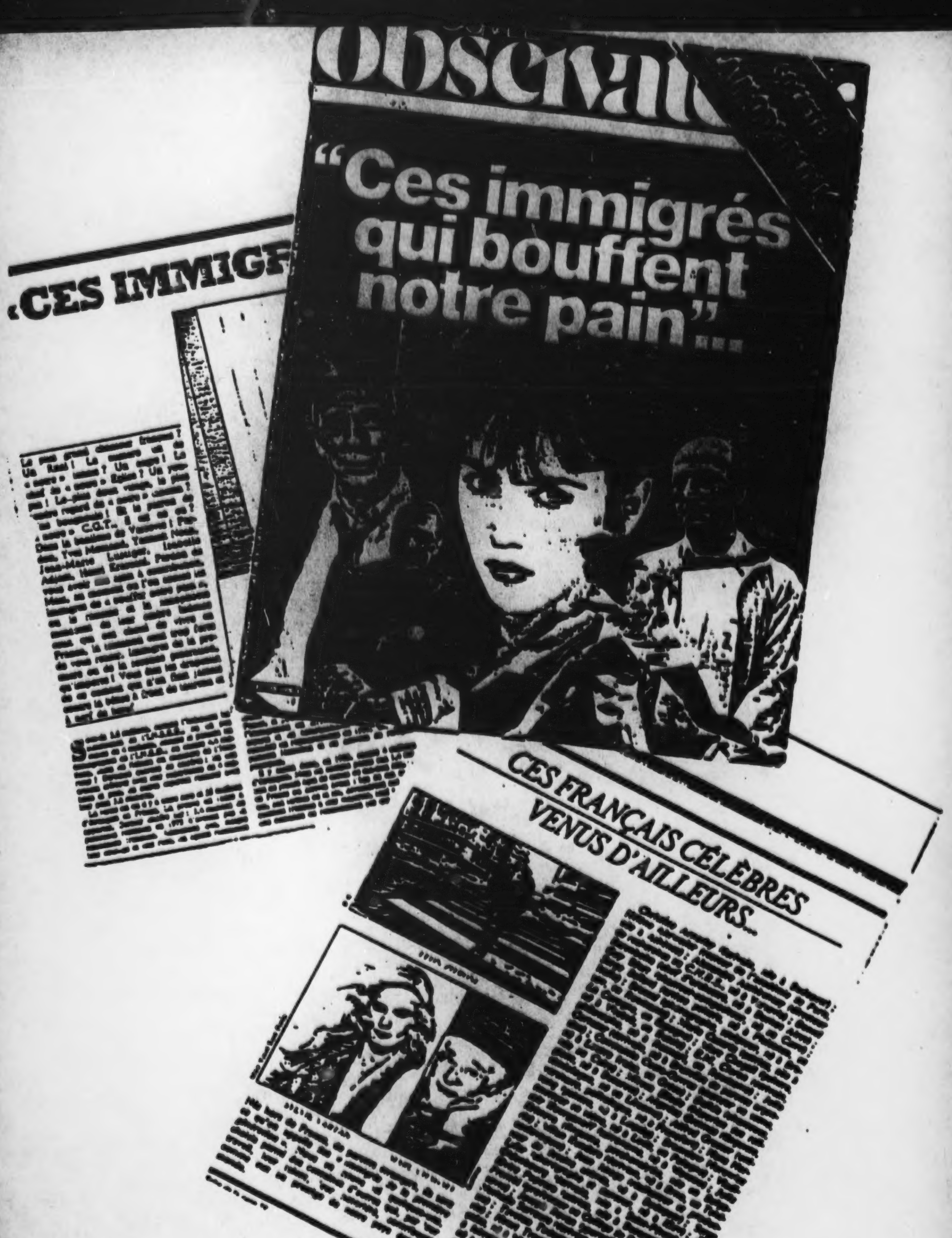
It is true that foreigners are not the only ones in need, but very often they are the first to experience this situation. It is clear that additional action must be taken to overcome the various inadequacies. If there is no change of approach and if educational and social work consist purely in administering the deficiencies of a system, the ideological discussion will remain a façade.

Without doubt, this calls on us - particularly at a time when there is an undeniable revival of racism - to give a great deal more thought to the problem, to far-reaching changes, to an inversion of philosophical ideas and strategies.

It would seem expedient to include the phenomenon of migration as an element of a new international economic system where relationships are not purely based on economic needs - the gap between "rich" and "poor" countries covers a time span of many years - but on the basis of a greater international solidarity. Similarly, on a national scale, it is essential that our own development be based on a more general, composed and certainly more just approach.

At another point in the future the problems of identity and culture could also be solved, but this undoubtedly calls for a substantial change of attitude and the awareness that we can participate in the creation of a pluralist society. Far from the famous exclusivist attitude, which has fortunately been discarded : "our ancestors the Gauls...." and an erroneous, wilted concept of a "vision of France which over the ages has become immobile and which through the centuries has preserved its personality and integrity" (cf. 59), one must take courage and adopt an open approach to the benefits and potential of a multi-cultural society.

And, according to B. STASI quoted above (cf. his book "L'immigration, une chance pour la France") and a number of other media (cf. next page), despite the existing differences in political opinions, this would appear to be neither unthinkable nor impossible.



Observate

"Ces immigrés qui bouffent notre pain"...

«CES IMMIGR

CES FRANÇAIS CÉLÈBRES VENUS D'AILLEURS...

From "Nouvel Observateur", 10 November 1983

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACUCES	Association du Centre Universitaire de Coopération Economique et Sociale
ADAP	Association pour la Diffusion des Aides Pédagogiques
ADEP	Association pour le Développement de l'Education Permanente
AFPA	Association Nationale pour la Formation Professionnelle des Adultes
ANPE	Agence Nationale pour l'Emploi
AMANA	Association d'Accueil d'Orientation et de Formation des Immigrés
CAP	Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle
CEDEFOP	European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training
CEREQ	Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Qualifications
CFPA	Certificat de Formation Professionnelle des Adultes
CIMADE	Comité Inter-Mouvements auprès des Evacués
CNDP	Centre National de Documentation Pédagogique
COJASOR	Comité Juif d'Action Sociale et de Reconstruction
COS	Centre d'Orientation Sociale
DOM-TOM	Départements d'Outre-Mer et Territoires d'Outre-Mer
DPM	Direction de la Population et des Migrations
EDF-GDF	Electricité de France - Gaz de France
ESF	European Social Fund
FAF	Fonds d'Assurances Formation
FAS	Fonds d'Action Sociale
FNE	Fonds National de l'Emploi
GFC-BTP	Groupement de Formation Continue du Bâtiment et des Travaux Publics

INSEE	Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques
ONI	Office National d'Immigration
PJDE	Pré-formation des Jeunes Demandeurs d'Emploi
RATP	Régie Autonome des Transports Parisiens
SNCF	Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer
SSAE	Service Social d'Aide aux Emigrants

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We would like to thank all those who directly or indirectly by personal contact, correspondence or telephone have assisted us in our work and in the realization of this (and the earlier study) :

> MR BALIZET (Sociologist/Marseilles), MR BARTHELEMY (CEFISEM-CEFREM-Académie d'AIX-MARSEILLES), MR BRUNETTI (Expert with the Episcopate), MR CHEVALIER (DPM), MS CAMUS (SEDES), MS CHARLOT (Expert with the Ministry for National Education, MR CHATEL (Head of a Vocational Preparation Centre Montbeliard), MS CIRBA (Ministry of Justice), MR EGERMANN (Responsible for the reception of immigrants from Black Africa/Diocese of Versailles), MS GARNIER (SEIS - MEN), MR GHYS R.P. (Head of AMANA and Hommes et Migrations), MONTBELIARD Group, MR HAFFNER (Catholic Welfare Organization), MS HUICQ (AFPA, MR KLITTING (SEDES), MR LABROUSSE (DPM), MS LAFAY (DPM), MS LAMBLOIS (AFPA), MS LEBLANC (ADEP), MR LEBON (DPM), MR LE ROY (Director of the Cabinet of the Secretary of State for Immigrants), MS MACHON (DPM), MR MATTEUDI (Director of the Cabinet of the Minister for Vocational Training), MR MAZEAU (Expert with the General Delegation for Vocational Training), MR PERROTI (CIEMM), MR POZIER (CEREQ), MR RABIER (ANPE), MR RAMOF (General Delegation for Vocational Training), MR RETAMAL (AFPA), MS RICHARD (DPM), MR ROUSSEL (ANPE), MS SARRAZIN (ADEP), MR SERREAU (DPM), MR TARAVELLA (CIEMM), MR TAUVEL (CNDP) (MEN), MR TRAN (DPM), MR VACHETTE (ONI)

and Dominique BECOEUR for up-dating the statistics, and Simone VASSEUR for typing.

CEDEFOP – European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

Vocational training of young migrants in France
Jean-Marie Raimond

CEDEFOP Document

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

1986 – 117 pp. – 21.0 x 29.7cm

DE, EN, FR, IT

ISBN 92-825-6118-6

Catalogue number: HX-45-85-034-EN-C

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